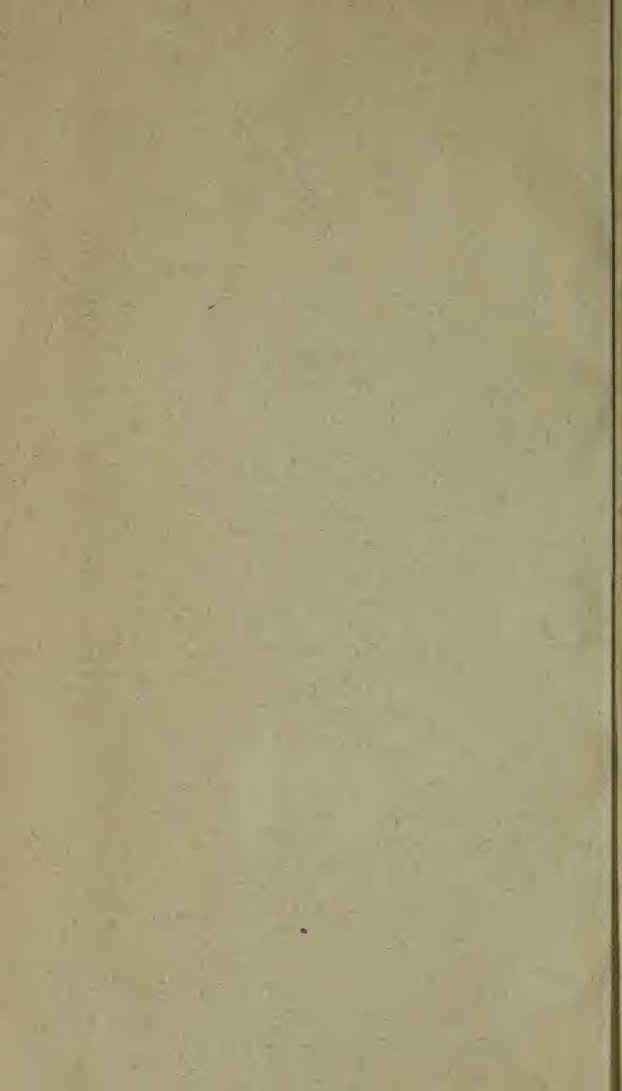
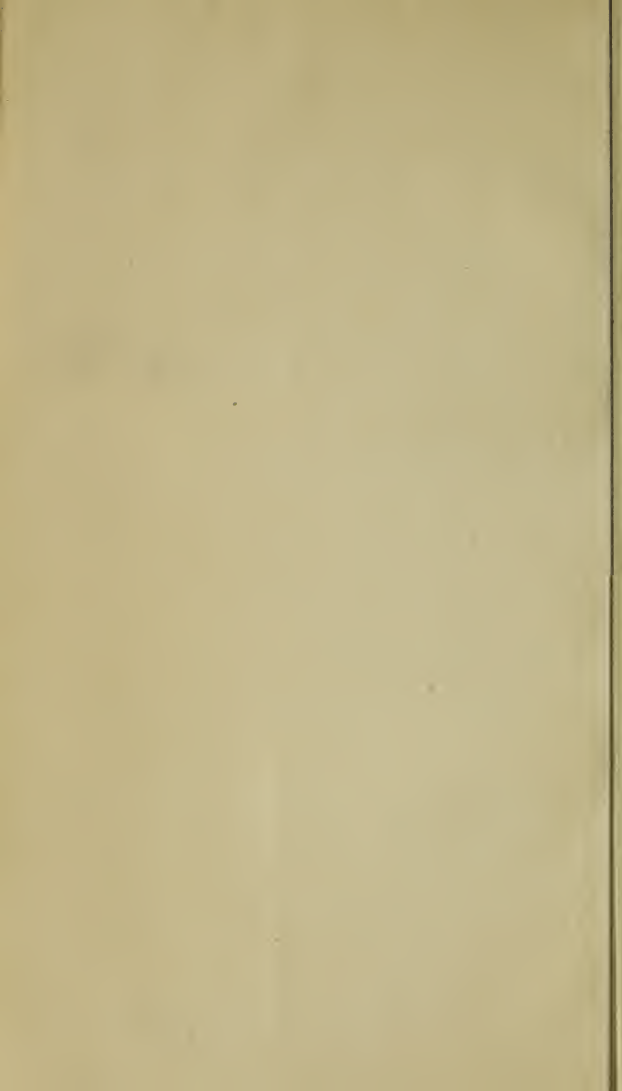


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MEMOIRS
OF THE
Duke DE VILLARS,
MARSHAL-GENERAL
OF THE
ARMIES
Of his most
Christian Majesty.

CONTAINING,
His Rise under the most famous *French*
Generals of the last Age; The Difficul-
ties he met with from the MINISTRY;
His Intrigues at the Court of *Bavaria*;
and his secret Negotiations in *Vienna*,
relating to the Succession of the *Spanish*
MONARCHY.

Intermix'd with a great Number of MILITARY
OBSERVATIONS on the BATTLES in
which he fought.

Extracted from ORIGINAL PAPERS.

Translated from the FRENCH.

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M E M O I R S

O F T H E

Duke D E V I L L A R S, &c.

LEWIS-HECTOR Duke de Villars, Peer and Marshal of France, Prince of Martigues, Viscount of Melun, Marquis of la Nocle, Earl of la Rochemillet, Commandant of the King's Orders, Grandee of Spain of the first Class, Knight of the Golden Fleece; Governour of the Cities, Forts and Castle of Friburg and of Brisgow; of the Cities, Citadel and Territory of Metz and of Verdun; Governor-General of Provence, Marseilles, Arles, and the adjacent Territories; Generalissimo of the King's Armies; his Plenipotentiary and Ambassador Extraordinary for the Treaties of Peace at Rastatt, and Chief of the Ambassadors for signing the General Peace at Baden; afterwards President of the Council of War, and of the Council of the Regency; Minister of State after the demise of the Duke of Orleans, and since Marshal-General, is the Person whose Memoirs we now give.

His Father was *Peter de Villars*, Baron of *Maclas* and of *Sara*; Lieutenant-General of the King's Armies; Commandant of the King's Orders; Governour of *Damvilliers* and of *Bezançon*; Assistant-Judge in Causes both Civil and Criminal, and Embassador Extraordinary in *Spain*, in *Piemont*, and in *Denmark*. He married *Mary of Bellefonds*.

The House of *Villars* is very ancient, and was more powerful in 1320, than it has been since. The Titles and Marriage-contracts prove, at least from that Period, that none of this Family have married beneath themselves; and 'tis even conjectured, that before the Age abovementioned, they had married into very illustrious Families; however, we shall advance nothing but what may be proved.

In the latter Ages, this House has given Birth to five Archbishops of *Vienne*, and Bishops of *Mirepoix* and of *Agen*. The Estate of the Family was very inconsiderable; however, some of the Descendants signalized themselves by a great Number of warlike Actions, but in different Periods; and the Person who endeavoured most to raise his Fortune, was *Peter de Villars*, the Duke's Father. He had a noble, majestic Aspect, which naturally claims Respect, and is an Indication of
Virtue.

Virtue. He was as valiant a Man as any of his Time ; received many deep Wounds in the Field ; and had the ill-fortune (almost unavoidable in that Age) to be engaged in several Duels ; and lastly, in that famous one fought between the Dukes *de Nemours* and *de Beaufort*, on which occasion he killed the Duke *de Beaufort's* Second, and was obliged to fly. This accident, and the Troubles which the Civil Wars raised in the Kingdom, were at first a great Obstacle to the Advancement of his Fortune.

At the Time that the Prince of *Conti* had the Command of the Armies, *Peter*, Marquiss *de Villars* was Lieutenant-General in those of *Italy* and *Catalonia*. He was made Governour of *Damvilliers*, one of the Strong-holds, bestowed on the Princes of the Blood, during the Civil Wars.

The Peace of the *Pyrenees* deprived him of this Government, and left him unsettled and unprovided, when, in the Beginning of the War of *Flanders*, *Lewis XIV.*, desirous of having experienced Officers near his Person, appointed Lieutenant-Generals to be his Aids de Camps, and among the rest, Marquiss *de Villars*. His heroic Air, which supported by his Actions, had gained him the Name of *Oron-*
B 2 *dates,*


dates, pleased the King, and from that moment his Fortune seemed to assume a more favourable Aspect; but his Alliance with Marshal *de Bellefonds*, a professed Enemy to all the Ministers of his Time, made him incur their Hatred, especially that of Mr. *de Louvois*.

The King being sensible that he might justly expect great Services from Marquiss *de Villars*, intended to bestow upon him the same Command which Marshal *Schomberg* had been honoured with in *Portugal*, and accordingly had given him Orders to go thither. This Commission seemed to promise him the Dignity of Marshal of *France*, but he was crossed in his Expectations by Mr. *de Louvois*. The King afterwards gave him the Government of *Bezançon*, but this he was obliged to quit, upon account of a Dispute he had with the Marquiss *de Gadagne*, Governour of *Dole*, who was protected by the abovementioned Minister. He was appointed Governour of *Doway*, but the Enmity of the Secretary at War, (Mr. *de Louvois* abovementioned) made him lose that also. Nevertheless, after the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, the King being desirous of concluding a Treaty with *Spain*, sent Marquiss *de Villars* thither; declaring to him, at his setting out, that he should

should have the Government of *Alsatia* at his return. Marquiss *de Villars* succeeded with the *Spaniards*, and even prevented, (notwithstanding the powerful Sollicitations of the *Dutch* and the Emperour) *Spain* from uniting with the States-General, during the two first Years of the War of 1672. However, at his return, Marquiss *de Vaubrun* was fixed in *Alsatia*.

At last, the invincible Obstacles which Mr. *de Louvois* threw in his way, obliged him to change his Course, and to strike into that of Embassies, which the Friendship of Mr. *de Lionne*, Minister of Foreign Affairs, opened to him. Accordingly he went Ambassador Extraordinary into *Piemont*, into *Denmark*; and transacted very happily, on two occasions some considerable Negotiations in *Spain*: And after having sold and spent his Baronies of *Maclas*, and of *Sara*, devolved to him from his Ancestors; the only Advantage he reaped from all his long and important Services, was, to be made Commandant of the King's Orders, and Assistant Judge in Causes both Civil and Criminal; and unable to bestow any other Patrimony on *Lewis-Hector*, Marquiss *de Villars* his Son, than the Example (so discouraging to any other Man) of great Merit little rewarded.

1670.



Lewis XIV, appointed at this time an Establishment for the Education of the Prime Nobility of his Kingdom, by the Name of Pages of the * Offices. The Duke *de Noailles*, in some Favour at that time, sent one of his Sons thither. *Lewis-Hector de Villars*, was also admitted; and being of an advantageous Stature, with a noble Countenance, and a Vivacity which heightened an Exterior that was very engaging in it self, the King soon distinguished him from the rest of his Companions.

One Day, in his infant Years, hearing his Father and Mother complain of their ill Fortune, he said to 'em; *I'll make a greater*. Surprized at what they heard, they asked him the Reason he had to say so, and how he intended to act. *I have already*, said he, *one great Advantage, in being sprung from You; and besides, I am resolved to seek for Opportunities in such a Manner, that I will certainly conquer or die*; at the same Time he informed them of his several Views; and expressed himself so well, that his Parent thought they


* *In the French 'tis, Page à la grande ecurie, or, Page in the Great Stable; This I have translated Offices, because the Apartments of Masters of the Horse, Pages, Footmen, &c. are sometimes called ecurie in French, that is, Stable, by which is meant Offices.*

might very safely, even at that Time, de- 1670.
pend upon their Son's Prediction, since ~
Nature had endued him with the most
happy Dispositions.

In a Journey of the Court into *Flan-*
ders, Marquiss *de Villars*, who was still a
Page, desired permission to leave the
Houshold, and to take a Tour into *Hol-*
land. He was to go afterwards for *Eng-*
land, with Marshal *de Bellefonds*, who
was sent thither to sooth the Anger of
the King and his Subjects, who were
greatly exasperated by a Report which
prevailed, viz. That the Duchess of *Or-*
leans, Sister to the King of *England*, had
been poisoned; but he came too late for
the Marshal. At his return from *Holland*,
being no longer a Page, and independ-
ant, he accompanied Count *de Saint Ge-*
ran his Cousin, who was sent Envoy to the
Electer of *Brandenburg*, in order to engage
him, if possible, to join in the War which
was projecting against *Holland*. He was
recalled by a Letter of Marshal *de Belle-*
fonds, and ordered to wait upon the Duke
of *Luxemburg*, who commanded the Forces
of *Colen* and *Munster*, and was making all
the Preparations necessary for opening the
Campaign upon the *Rhine*. That Duke
designed to give him a Troop of Horse
in the Troops of *Colen*, which he com-
manded;

1670.  manded ; but Marshal *de Bellefonds*, who already perceived the growing Merit of his young Relation, was unwilling to have any other Person educate him in the Science of War, and accordingly made him return from *Colen*.

Marquiss *de Villars* arrived at *Versailles* a few Days before the King's Departure, and prepared to follow Marshal *de Bellefonds*. But, as he was setting out, all his Measures were broke by the Marshal's disgrace, whom Mr. *de Louvois* sacrificed to his Reconciliation with Viscount *de Turenne*, who likewise had an Aversion to Marshal *de Bellefonds*, and was to command, under the King, the principal Army. Here follows the occasion of his Disgrace.

 'Twas a Custom at that time, for all the great Officers of the Army to *roll*, or in other Words, to command alternately ; one Day one Officer, and the other on the Morrow ; and even the Marshals of *France* were subject to this Ordinance. Now, Viscount *de Turenne* declared, that he could not roll with three Marshals of *France*, meaning Marshals *de Bellefonds*, *de Crequi*, and *d'Humieres*, as he had seen them in the lowest military Employments, at a Time when he himself had the supreme Command of Armies. The
King,

King, who was not willing to create him ^{1670.} Constable, instituted in his favour the Post of Marshal de Camp General, and would have annexed to this Dignity, a Command over the rest of the Marshals of *France*. Those abovementioned refused to obey this new Ordinance; and having been appointed to command an Army under the Prince of *Conde*, they were all three banished two Days before the Time fixed upon for their Departure. Marquiss *de Villars*, who had set out before, now found himself alone, (for his Father who was Embassador in *Spain* was there at that Time) that is to say, he had not the least foreign Assistance; nor the least Succour with regard to Fortune, but what he raised to himself: A Succour to which he ever was obliged to have recourse, and which alone sufficed, as will plainly appear from the following Account of his Life. He soon resolved not to serve in the Army in which Marshal *de Bellefonds* was to Command, but to keep as near the King as possible.

Accordingly he followed his Majesty, who was marching his Army nearer *Maestricht*. *Brissac*, at that time Lieutenant of the Life-Guards, was detached with three Hundred Horse. Marquiss *de Villars* went on this little Expedition, and

1670. drove a Party of the Enemy to the Barriers of *Maestricht*, where *Marquifs de Sauvebeuf* received a very dangerous Wound.

1672. The King afterwards reinforced his Army, with that which the Prince of *Conde* was marching towards *Orsoy*. He divided his Forces, with an intention to attack at one and the same time four Strong-holds belonging to the *Dutch*. The Army under the King besieged *Orsoy*; that of the Prince of *Conde*, *Wesel*; and that of *Viscount Turenne*, *Burdich*. *Orsoy* was taken in two Days. Count *de St. Geran* was commanded to make a Counter-attack, on which occasion he was accompanied by *Marquifs de Villars*.

During the Siege of *Doesburg*, being at the Head of the Trenches, at the time when the Besieged were going to make a Sally, he leaped out of the *Boy au*, or Branch of the Trench, and was the first who marched against the Enemy.

In the beginning of his Majesty's Conquests, the States-General had sent four Deputies to wait upon him near *Utrecht*, to sue for Peace; offering him *Maestricht*, and ten Millions, by way of ransom for the Strong-holds he had taken. The Offer was not accepted, the King demanding *Dutch-Brabant*, together with *Orsoy*, *We-*
sel,

sel, *Emmerick*, *Rees*, and *Rhinberg*. Thus ^{1672.} the Negotiation broke off, and the War continued.

A little after, the Duke of *Orleans*, his Majesty's Brother, besieged *Doesburg*. The Army under the King being now idle, could no longer be agreeable to a Man who panted so eagerly for Opportunities to signalize himself, and had no inducements to continue in it, as Marquifs *de Villars*. Accordingly he left it, and flew to that Siege, where, being at the Head of the Trench when the Enemy sallied out, he appeared at the Head of those who repulsed them. And indeed, the Duke of *Orleans* thought himself obliged to mention him, in the Letters he sent to his Majesty.

He was present at the famous Passage of the *Rhine*; an (almost) rash and so bold an Action, that it can scarce be paralleled, the particulars of which are universally known. Marquifs *de Villars* was one of the first that plunged into the River.

After this, (for he ever ran in pursuit of Danger) he went to Viscount *de Turenne*, who was besieging *Crevecoeur*.

So many Particulars occur in these Memoirs, that we are obliged to mention but very slightly those Circumstances.

1672. which relate to Marquifs *de Villars's* Youth.

The Chevalier *de la Rochefoucault*, Cornet of the *Burgundian* Light-Horfe, having been killed, Marquifs *de Villars* intreated Mr. *de Saint Geran*, to follicitate his Majesty to beftow that Poft upon him.

This Count, his only Relation, who had then an Opportunity to fpeak in his Favour, refused it, faying, that he knew that Poft was designed for fuch Perfons only, as had diftinguifhed themfelves by their long Services, and were happy in powerful Patrons. Marquifs *de Villars*, who, notwithstanding the Reafons and Advice of his Relation, was confcious that he deferved it; waited himfelf upon the King for that purpofe, and immediately obtained his Request. The next Day the * *Gendarmerie*, among whom he was now entered, were detached to join the Army of Vifcount *Turenne* upon the *Rhine*. Many little Pofts upon the *Mofelle* were attacked; and there were feveral Parties, one among the reft in which *la Fitte*, one of the beft † *Partizans*, attacked three Hundred *Brandeburg* Horfe. Marquifs *de Villars* was prefent on this occafion; and

* A Body of the King of *France's* Life-Guard.

† Leaders of Parties of Men detached on Service.

he endeavoured every Day to be still more ^{1672.} deserving, even of the Favours he had already received.

The Campaign being ended, he went to see the Winter Quarters of the *Gendarmerie* settled on the *Saare*, and returned to Court. At that time the King of *Spain*, having been extremely ill of the Small-Pox, the King sent Marquiss *de Villars* to compliment him on his Recovery. The Marquiss could not but be extremely well pleased with this Commission, especially as his Father was Embassador at the *Spanish* Court, and in great Esteem with the Queen-Mother. Accordingly he went thither, and met with a very gracious Reception; and at his leaving that Kingdom, he was honoured by the *Spanish* Monarch with a very noble Present.

At this time the Duke *de Lauzun* was put under an Arrest. As his Character is somewhat extraordinary, we believe it may not be improper to give some Account of him in this Place. He was a brave Man, and of a Cast of Mind more proper for Courts than for Business. He was but of low Stature, and discovered nothing in his Air and Figure, that seemed to promise him so much good Fortune in Gallantry as was pretended.

He

1672.

He was related to Marshal *de Grammont* ; lived at his House, and was one of the Princess of *Monaco's* first Admirers. The late King, besides the very strong Passion he entertained for *Mademoiselle de la Valliere*, and *Madam de Montespan*, had been liberal of his Favours to several Ladies who solicited them, and among the rest to the Princess of *Monaco*. This last, at the Time that the Duke *de Lauzun* made his Addresses to her, happened to gaze very attentively upon the King, she being seated on the ground upon Cushions. *Lauzun*, jealous at what he saw, retired without seeming to look behind him, and put his Heel upon the Princess of *Monaco's* Hand, as she was looking most earnestly at the King. Immediately a great Outcry was heard. The King saw plainly that *Lauzun* had done it for the purpose ; and the latter talked with so much Insolence, that his Majesty was forced to send him to the *Bastile*, where he spoke in such indecent Terms, even of the King himself, as seemed to pronounce his ruin. However, it had a quite contrary Effect, and the King being determined to show his Generosity to the Courtier, not only forgave him, but, struck with *Lauzun's* Haughtiness and Greatness of

of Soul, he afterwards indulged him very ^{1672.}
signal Marks of his Favour.

He now resumed the Air of a Court-Favourite, and made his Addresses to Mademoiselle *de Montpensier*, eldest Daughter to the Duke of *Orleans*, and the greatest Fortune in *Europe*. She had flattered herself with the Hopes of marrying the King; and refused the first Prince of the Blood, and even the King of *England*. Tho' in Years, she yet was touched at the Addresses of a Favourite; and grew so passionately fond of *Lauzun*, that she resolved to marry him. On the other Side, the little Gentleman inflamed her Love by an affected Coldness, which he grounded on the Fear he was under, lest the Princess whom he pretended to adore, should be so very silly as to marry him.

The more Obstacles he threw in the way of their Marriage, the more Mademoiselle endeavoured to remove them. At last, he informed the King with an Air of Secrecy, of this Amour; assuring him at the same Time, that he was sensible to no other Passion than that of serving his Majesty. Mademoiselle being resolved to marry the Duke at any rate, the King gave his Consent, and seemed to approve it.

1672. So great was *Lauzun's* Vanity, that he intended to marry Mademoiselle with the usual Ceremonies, and had three Days to consider of it. All his Enemies, especially the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Conde*, took Advantage of this delay, and prevailed with Madame *de Montespan* to exert herself on this occasion. They even obliged her Majesty to take some little notice of it, and the King revoked the Consent he had given. *Lauzun* was offered by way of Compensation, the Dignities of Peer, and Marshal of *France*, with the Privilege of waiting upon the King in his private Hours, &c. Of the several Honours which were offered him, he accepted only of the last. Acting like a true Courtier, he preferred the Employment which fixed him near the King's Person, to all Things, in hopes of recovering his Majesty's Consent, the Passion of Mademoiselle being as violent as ever. But *Lauzun* would never pardon Madam *de Montespan*; and after endeavouring, but in vain, to ruin her with the King, he treated her so very ill, that she prevailed with his Majesty to order Marquiss *de Rochefort*, Captain of the Guards, to put him under an Arrest. He was carried to the Castle of *Pignerol*, where he continued a Prisoner ten Years, and was not released,

leased, till Mademoiselle resigned the ^{1672.} Principality of *Dombes*, and the County of *Eu*, to the Duke *du Maine*, the eldest of the Children which Madam *de Montespan* had brought the King. This Marriage of this Princess with *Lauzun* was not declared, and she gave him the Dukedom of *St. Fargeau*, and other Estates. There was little Gratitude on *Lauzun's* part, who even did not conceal the perfect Aversion he had for her; so that she being tall and strong, and he of a short Stature, she would often have beat him, had he not avoided coming to Blows. He was in *England* at the Time that King *James* left that Kingdom; and had so far gained the Confidence of this Prince, that he was appointed to convey the Prince of *Wales* to *Paris*.

The Year after he went and commanded King *James's* Army; but both conducted themselves so ill, that they lost *Ireland* in a few Months.

The remainder of his Life in *France* was spent, in petty Court-Intrigues, from which he reaped no manner of Benefit. He married the Daughter of Marshal *de Lorge*, and having no Issue by her, his Estates devolved on his Wife, and Marquis *de Biron*. 'Twas thought proper to insert here at length, all that relates to the

1672. the Life and Character of so extraordinary
 a Personage as the Duke *de Lauzun*.

The fear of losing one Day of the Campaign, which was again upon the Point of being opened, hastned the return of Marquiss *de Villars*, who, as we before observed, was in *Spain*. At *Brussels* he met with the King at the Head of his Army, who was going to besiege *Maeftricht*. This City was defended by the *Rhingrave*, one of the ablest Generals in the *Dutch* Service, with nine Thousand chosen Troops.

The King, out of Tenderness for the Nobility, who were strongly desirous to venture their Lives under his Eye, forbid all Volunteers to go upon any Attack without his Leave; and distributing them, gave Orders, that they should mount the Trenches in their turns. Marquiss *de Villars*, who would not have desired Leave to go, had he not hoped to obtain it; knowing that it would be refused him, because he belonged to the *Gendarmerie*, resolved to wait till every thing should be prepared for attacking at one and the same time, the covert-way and a Half-Moon; and in the Night, he entered the Trench two Hours before the Attack. He brought with him six *Gen-darmes*, or Life-Guards of his Troop,
 who

who also were Volunteers; when posting ^{1672.} himself with the first Detachment of Granadiers that was to Sally out, the Moment the Signal was made, by firing six Bombs, he marched at the Head of the Attack. A Coat-of-Mail had been given him, but finding it so heavy, as to check his Activity, he threw it away as he came out, and entered the Half-Moon with the foremost. He had not been a Moment there, when a *Fourneau* springing under him, he was half buried in the Ground. As soon as he had removed the Earth with which he was covered, he marched to the Gorge of the Bastion, to oppose such of the Enemy as attempted to enter it. He lost most of his Gendarmes, and the Enemy fired so vigorously, that all the Officers were killed or disabled. Himself, and one *Vignory*, a *Veteran* Officer, but a Volunteer on this occasion, were the only Persons able to defend an indifferent Lodgment. He was slightly wounded in several Places, and that mostly by the bursting of the Granades.

The King was present at the Attack, ^{1673.} and often sent to enquire what was doing in the Half-Moon. Word was brought, that *Villars* appeared always at the Head. In fine, at Day-break he left the Half-Moon; and the King spying two or three Persons

1673. Persons who had the Air of Officers, coming out of the Trenches, sent *Lignery*, an Exempt of his Guards, to enquire who they were. *Lignery* finding *Marquiss de Villars* among them, told him, that his Name had been frequently mentioned to the King in the Night; and thereupon went and told his Majesty that he was there. *Marquiss de Rochefort*, afterwards Marshal of *France*, came and bid him, in the King's Name, come forward; saying, with a Smile, *You'll be severely chid*. The Moment the King saw him, he assumed an Air of some Severity, and spoke thus to him; *Have not you heard, that I have forbid even Volunteers to go upon any Attack without my Leave, much more Officers, whose Duty it is not to stir from their Troops, and the Officers of Horse especially? I imagined,* replied *Marquiss de Villars*, *that your Majesty would pardon me, for endeavouring to learn the Exercise and Business of the Foot, especially when the Horse have nothing to do*. This Apology could not fail of a wished for Effect; accordingly the King ended his reprimand with great Encomiums on Mr. *de Villars*, whose wishes Fortune favoured a few Days after, by giving him a fresh Opportunity of hazarding his Person. He was riding among the Guards of the Camp, when *Croisille* a Captain

a Captain of the Guards, and Brother to 1673. *Catinat*, who afterwards was a Marshal of *France*, came and desired him to order out a Guard of *Gendarmeries*, commanded by a Quarter-master, in order to maintain a Post of the Regiment of Guards. The Officer who commanded a Guard of the Household, refusing to leave his Post, *Marquiss de Villars* flew to that of the *Gendarmeries*, and desired the Commanding-Officer to draw out twenty *Gendarmes*; when leading them himself, he repulsed the Enemy to the very Barriers of the Counterscarp.

The Skirmish grew very warm, when the King advancing up to it, asked how Matters went? *Croisille* telling him the several Particulars; *One would think*, says his Majesty, speaking of *Marquiss de Villars*, *that the Moment a Fire is heard in any Place, this little Lad rises out of the Ground, and is seen in the midst of it.*

The thirteenth Day after the opening of the Trenches, *Maestricht* surrendered, and the *Gendarmerie* were ordered to march to the *Rhine*, to reinforce the Army of *Viscount de Turenne*, and oppose that of the Emperour, and of the Empire, which was assembling in *Bohemia*, under the Command of General *Montecuculli*. The Emperour's Army might intend, either
to


1673. to march towards *Philipsburg*, or to besiege *Bonne*; as it was impossible for Viscount *de Turenne* to defend both Strong-holds, all he could do, was to endeavour to come to Action, and for this purpose, to march with all speed towards the Emperour's Army. Accordingly, he advanced, at the Head of the King's Forces, into *Franconia*.

Whilst this was doing, as it was not in Marshal *de Bellefond*'s Power to serve Marquiss *de Villars* with his Credit, he resolv'd to assist him with his Advice. He thereupon wrote him a long Letter, filled with military Instructions, and exhorted him, among other Particulars, to learn the Duty of a *Partizan*, and to often accompany, as a Volunteer, those who were reputed the most experienced this way; observing, that such General-Officers as had not learnt it, (how brave soever they might be) were oftentimes very much puzzled, when they commanded Parties, in the neighbourhood of an Enemy's Army.

Marquiss *de Villars* was so sensible of the Importance of this Advice, that what he had hitherto done from no other Motive than to meet with occasions to show his Bravery, he continued to practice with new Resolution, in the view of improving himself. He often went upon Parties for

for three or four Days together, along ^{1673.} with those who were reputed the most experienced in this Art. These were, at that Time, the two Brothers of *Saint-Clars*, one of whom, (a Brigadier) was once, for six Days together, off from the Army, within Cannon-shot of the Enemy; repulsing perpetually their Guards, himself being sheltered by a large Wood into which he withdrew; taking Prisoners, and sending every Moment to Viscount *de Turenne*, Advice of the Enemy's Motions. 'Tis certain, that nothing instructs an Officer more, than a Duty which teaches him to attack boldly, and to retire with Order and Prudence; and lastly, which accustoms him often to see the Enemy near at hand.

Viscount *de Turenne* marched at the Head of the *Tober*, on the other Side of *Wurtzburg*. *Montecuculli* advanced, as tho' he intended to fight, and several very sharp Skirmishes ensued. In one of these, the Count *de Guiche*, Lieutenant-General of the King's Army, brought forward the Wing under his Command, and had like to have engaged the whole Army with great disadvantage. But Viscount *de Turenne* perceiving this, flew with the utmost speed to take away the Ensigns of the Battallions; exposing only the Volunteers,

1673.  teers, among whom, or rather at whose Head, the Reader will expect to hear of Marquifs *de Villars*. He indeed was there with a Kinsman of his, *Sebeville* by Name, who was deeply wounded on this occasion. Tho' Viscount *de Turenne* was Marquifs *de Bellefond's* Enemy, he yet took notice of what now passed under his Eye. Accordingly, he paid the utmost Civilities to Marquifs *de Villars*, and mentioned him, in his Dispatches to the King, as a young Man who was worthy of being raised.

The King's Army, as we before observed, was in the Plains at the Head of the *Tober*, fully persuaded of coming to an Engagement ; and the Emperour's Forces were already seen to advance forward, when the Bishop of *Wirtzburg*, being bribed by the Imperialists, facilitated their Passage over the *Main*. Having crossed this River, they cut off our Convoys by such Strong-holds of the Bishoprick of *Wirtzburg* as lay behind us ; forced us to retire, and suffer the Imperial Army to march unmolested, into the neighbourhood of *Franckfort* and *Mentz* ; enabling them to made a Descent upon *Bonne*, in spite of Viscount *de Turenne*. The best Expedient left this General, was, to settle in the Territories of the Elector of *Mentz*, and the Lower *Palatinate*, in order

der to refresh the King's Army ; and at 1673. the same Time, to show a just Resentment against the Princes of the Empire, who declared against *France*, notwithstanding the strong Assurances they had given to observe a strict Neutrality.

The Imperial Army besieging *Bonn*, which was but poorly fortified, took it in a few Days, and afterwards spread along the *Rhine* and the *Moselle*. Viscount *de Turenne*, desiring to besiege some Posts on the Banks of that River, marched to *Boern-Castle*, a small City, but defended by a pretty strong Castle ; however, the Imperialists, succoured by the Princes of the Empire, prevented him, and his march was to no purpose. All that could now be done, was, to send the Army into Winter-Quarters, along the *Saare*, and in Lower *Alsatia* ; and during this, as the taking of *Bonn* quite cut off our Correspondence with the *Dutch*, the *French* were obliged to abandon all the considerable Conquests, the Town of *Grave* expected.

This Year three naval Engagements were fought between the united Fleets of *England* and *France*, commanded by Prince *Rupert*, and Count *d'Estrées* ; and that of *Holland*, under *Van Trump* and *Ruyter*. The Design of the two Crowns, was, to make a Descent in the Province

1673. of *Zealand*, which the Prince of *Orange* had been obliged to drain of all its Troops, to reinforce his Army. However, tho' both Sides fought several Times, with the utmost Bravery and Resolution, yet neither came off with very distinguished Success.

Marshal *de Bellefonds*, who, as well as his Collegues Marshals *d' Humieres* and *de Crequi*, had at last submitted to what was required, with regard to Viscount *de Turenne*; and who, with them, had been restored to the Service, was resolved to keep *Nimeguen*; and persisted in this Design, notwithstanding the Orders of the Court to the contrary. Mr. *de Louvois*, who hated *Bellefonds* as much as ever, took this Opportunity to ruin him, and had him banished a second Time, in less than two Years. Thus passed the Campaign of 1673.


1674. That of 1674 opened with the Conquest of the *Franche Comté*, which the King performed in Person, in the depth of Winter; during which, Viscount *de Turenne* prevented the old Duke of *Lorraine* from passing the *Rhine*; he intending to defend that *Comté* with a Body of Forces strong enough for that purpose, composed of his own Troops, and of those of the Emperour. All the Strong-holds in the *Franche-*

Franche-Comté being seized, the King re-^{1674.}turned to *Versailles*; and a Design was formed to dispose the Armies in another manner, in order to oppose the united Force of the greatest Part of *Europe*. *Spain* had declared against us, at the close of the foregoing Year; the greatest Part of the Empire had done the same, and *England* was forced to withdraw the Troops it had sent us.

'Twas about the Beginning of the Year, that the Emperour caused to be carried off at *Colen*, Prince *William* of *Fusstenberg*, the Elector of *Colen's* Minister and Plenipotentiary at the Conferences held there for the Peace, ever since the middle of 1673.

This outrage, which was an Infringement of the Law of Nations, obliged the King to break up the Assembly, and to recall his Embassadors, who accordingly left *Colen* the 15th of *April*. This was attended with mighty Consequences, which did not end till the Peace of *Niméguen*.

Whilst Matters were in this Situation, Preparations were made to defend the Frontiers of *Flanders* and the Empire. Viscount *deTurenne* was appointed to command upon the *Rhine*, but with so few Troops, that it was evident the Ministry

1675.  relied wholly on his great Capacity. And indeed, they were so firmly persuaded he could succeed in all Things, that he often was rendered incapable of performing almost any Thing; and could never have executed them, had he not found within himself, certain Ressources superiour even to those they knew he possessed. The Hatred which Marquiss *de Louvois* bore that General, contributed very much to the small Succours which were given him, to carry on so considerable a War.

The *Gendarmeries* which had begun the Campaign in *Germany*, were sent into *Flanders*. Marquiss *de Beringhen*, Colonel of the Regiment *Dauphin*, was killed at the Siege of *Bezançon*; and Marquiss *de Villars* owed this Obligation to Viscount *de Turenne*, that this General still continuing to speak in his Favour, declared publicly, that it would be proper to make him Colonel as soon as possible, and give him the Regiment in question.

The Army assembled in the neighbourhood of *Charleroi*, under the Command of the Prince of *Conde*; and that of the Allies, headed by the Prince of *Orange*, was reinforced by a considerable Part of the Emperour's Troops, commanded by General *Souche*, who had engaged the *Turks* at the Head of the same Forces,


Forces with Reputation. This General, 1675. was considered as the ablest Warrior in the Army of the Prince of *Orange*, whose ill Success in the Field, was partly owing to his having never fought under Commanders skilful enough to improve the happy Dispositions which Nature had given him; being endued with fine Sense and great Bravery. 'Tis for this Reason, that notwithstanding these exalted Qualities, he, perhaps, never atchieved any Conquests that might justly give him the Title of a General.

The neighbourhood of *Maestricht* and *Liege*, was appointed the Rendezvous of the Confederate Army, which consisted of above three score thousand Men; and in that of the King there were, at most, but forty thousand; but they were *Frenchmen*, and headed by the Prince of *Conde*.

This Prince posted himself in such a manner, that seeing the Enemy advance, he was able to judge of their Designs, and take Advantage of their Motions. The Confederates advanced but slowly; and during their Approach, many Parties fought, in several of which Marquis *de Villars* was present. There was one among the rest, where an hundred and twenty of the Enemy's Foot, who had fortified themselves in a Church-Yard,

1674. were attacked by *la Fitte*, Lieutenant of the Horse-Guards. The Dragoons were ordered to dismount, when Marquis *de Villars* placing himself at their Head, advanced into the Church-Yard; killed, or took Prisoner every one in it, and rejoined the Army the Evening before the Day that that of the Enemy encamped in sight of the King's Army.

The Prince of *Conde* had marched it into the Plain of *Tresignies*, surrounded by the Rivulet called *Pieton*. This Post, naturally very advantageous, gave us Opportunity to wait calmly for the Resolution of the Confederates, whose strong Army, which only sought to engage, imagining they might continue their Marches, without any Danger from our Motions, made one in the view of approaching nearer us; which gave the Prince of *Conde* an Opportunity of attacking their rear-guard, while it was crossing the Rivulet of *Senef*. This Prince had watched the Enemy ever since Day-break, and had ordered the King's Household Troops, the *Gendarmes*, and a few *Battalions* to march. But the Moment he saw the last Squadrons of the Enemy separated from their main Army, he crossed the *Pieton*, and marched towards them; Mar-
quifs

quifs *de Villars* serving as a Volunteer near 1674.
his Person. 

The instant all was ready for the Onset, most of the General Officers, observing the Enemy in very great Motion, imagined they were flying; but *Marquifs de Villars* cried aloud, *They are not running away, but only change their Position. How do you know that?* says the Prince of Conde, turning about to him. *Because,* replied *Marquifs de Villars*, *I observe, that at the same time that many Squadrons seem to retire, several others advance in the Intervals and move their Right to the Rivulet, perceiving you march towards the Head of it; in order that when you come up with them, they may stand in Battle-array.* The Prince of Conde, said to him, *Young Man, where did you learn so much Experience?* And looking on the Officers round him; *That young Man,* says he to them, *has a very quick Eye.* Immediately he commanded *Montal* to fall upon the Village of *Senef* with the Foot, during which he himself, with the Life-Guards, marched to the Head of the Rivulet; and found that one Part of the Enemy had lined it; and that the other drew up in order of Battle, to oppose such of the King's Forces, as were advancing above the Rivulet.

1675.



The Prince of *Conde* seeing this, placed himself at the Head of the first Squadrons, and drew his Sword. Marquis *de Villars* struck with so invigorating a Sight, cried aloud, *I never wished so earnestly for any Thing, as to see the great Conde, Sword in Hand.* The Prince did not seem displeased at these Words, and they advanced towards the Enemy.

Marquis *de Villars* put himself at the Head of the Squadron of *Buscas*, being part of the Horse-Guards. He spied in this rear-guard of the Enemy, the Prince of *Vaudemont*, and called to him. Immediately the Onset began; when Marquis *de Villars* rushing into the Squadron of the Enemy that opposed him, received a Wound in his Thigh, which touched the Bone. This rear-guard was soon defeated; and the Prince of *Conde*, seeing the Action would grow warmer, commanded the whole Army to march. *Montal* took the Village of *Senef*, where four Battalions, which had intrenched themselves in the Church-Yard, were taken Prisoners, and he himself received a shot in the Leg. The Prince of *Conde* drew up again those Men who had charged first, and Preparations were made to attack *du Fay* Hill, where the Enemy had posted themselves, who, on the other Side, recalled the Head
of

of their Army, which was already advanced to the Plains of *Mons*, and the Battle seemed now going to be general. 1675.

All things being prepared for attacking *du Fay* Hill, *Fourille*, Lieutenant-General of the King's Armies, and General of the Horse, put himself at the Head of the first Squadrons of the Life-Guards. Marquifs *de Villars*, after his Wound was dressed, and his Thigh bound up, marched a breast with *Fourille*.

The Hedges on each side of the Hill were lined with five Battalions, which, without firing, permitted the two first Squadrons, which were obliged to file off at the foot of the Hill, to draw up in order of Battle. However, scarce were they drawn up, and come within Pistol-shot of the Enemy, but these poured in so brisk a Fire, as quite over-powered the Squadrons. *Fourille* was mortally wounded; and scarce one Man or Horse, in these Squadrons came off unhurt. Marquifs *de Villars* Horse was shot in several places. But the Enemy seeing us prepare for a second Attack, retired, with their main Army, to the Village of *du Fay*. Their whole Army ranged themselves to the Right and Left of the Village, and drew up behind it in Battle-array. 'Twas now three Hours since Marquifs *de Villars* had

C 5

been

1674. been wounded; and, so brisk was the Action, that he had at first felt little pain, but it grew afterwards so violent, that he fainted away. However, after only drinking a Glass of Brandy, he followed the Prince of *Conde*, (whose Horse had been killed under him at the first Onset) wherever he rode. Marquis *de Rochefort* had been wounded in the Action.

Hitherto the King's Forces had come off with considerable Advantage. The Prince of *Conde*, who was so battered, that he seemed animated only by his Courage, resolved to pursue an Action so happily begun, and attack the Village *du Fay*. To do this, 'twas necessary for the Army to spread over a greater Compass of Ground; and possibly, the confederate Forces, notwithstanding their Superiority with regard to Numbers, would have been beat, had they staid till all those of his Majesty had come up. But, the Security which a first Success gives; an Unwillingness to allow the Enemy time to recover themselves; and perhaps, also, the natural Impetuosity of the Leader, whom, the Difficulties he met with might exasperate; all these Circumstances prevailed. They proceeded speedily to the Attacks; but these, tho' carried on with great Vigour in some Places, were not
very

very successful. No decisive Advantage ^{1674.} was gained ; and tho' the Battle lasted till Evening, yet the King's Army did not gain much Ground. Marquiss *de Villars* being no longer able to sit his Horse, dismounted at eleven at Night ; a little after which a great Discharge was heard, and the Enemy retired. The King's Army, a considerable Part of which had been cut to pieces, did the same at Day-break. A great Number of subaltern, as well as chief Officers, fell in this Engagement. Marquiss *d' Assenar*, General of the *Spanish* Horse, was found among the slain. The Prince of *Orange*, Marquiss *de Monterey* Governour of the *Low-Countries*, and *Souche* the Emperour's General, drew the Confederate Army into the Plains of *Mons*. The Prince of *Conde* returned to his Camp at *Pieton* ; and whilst the Enemy sought for some new Enterprize, the Prince of *Conde* endeavoured to defeat their Designs.


This Prince, in his Dispatches to the Court ; and *Fourille*, in a Letter he writ to the King as he was dying, made very great Encomiums on Marquiss *de Villars*, to whom his Majesty gave the Regiment of Horse belonging to *Courcelles*, slain in the last Engagement.

The two Armies lay still for very near a Fortnight, after which that of the Al-
lies

1675. lies marched and invested *Oudenard*, and that of his Majesty advanced, in order to raise the Siege.

The Prince of *Conde* came within Cannon-shot of the Enemy, and perceiving they had not possessed themselves of an Eminence of very great Importance, he himself went and seized it. The Day after, the Enemy raised their Quarters, and General *Souche*, having posted those of the Emperour to Advantage; as the Prince of *Conde* had raised a Siege, he did not think proper to hazard a Battle.

Thus ended the Campaign of 1674, during which Viscount *de Turenne* carried on the War of *Germany* with great Glory. By the happy Success of the Battle of *Zintzheim*, and a Conduct equally prudent and intrepid, he gave upwards of three-score thousand Men, who had settled in *Alsatia*, an Opportunity of crossing the *Rhine*. 'Tis certain, that the Elector of *Brandenburg*, the old Duke of *Lorrain*, and all the Princes and Generals who commanded that Army, committed very great Oversights. The King was not possessed of a single Strong-hold in *Alsatia*; and Viscount *de Turenne*, who had been forced to abandon it to the Enemy, had no other way to enter it than by *Besfort*, a small Castle, unfortified at that Time, but

but afterwards put in a State of Defence ^{1675.}
by his Majesty's Order. 

The Enemy were Masters of *Straßburg*; and their Army, which might settle and take their Winter-Quarters on this Side of the *Rhine*, would thereby have made the King lose *Brisac* and *Philipsburg*, had they either been commanded by abler Generals, or Viscount *de Turenne* had not taken proper Advantage of their Errors. About the close of this Year, the Chevalier *de Rohan* was beheaded before the Bastile. He had promised the *Dutch* to deliver up into their Hands *Quillebeuf*, and to raise an Insurrection in *Normandy*. *La Truauumont* was at the Head of the Conspiracy; and it was on these two Men the Enemy grounded the Success of their naval Armament. The one was a younger Brother of one of the greatest and most ancient Families in the Kingdom; the other, a * Gentleman of *Normandy*, a *Veteran* Officer, very brave, and as remarkable for his good Sense, as the other for the want of it. Dissoluteness had united, and Poverty had engaged them in this wicked Project. The King being informed of it, gave orders for the seizing of

* To be a *Gentilhomme*, or Gentleman by Birth, in *France*, is very honourable.

1674. *La Truaumont*; but he was killed in defending himself against *Brissac*, a Major of the Horse-Guards, who had indiscreetly commanded his Men to fire upon him.

The Chevalier *de Roban* was arrested at the same Time. There was not one Proof; not so much as a single Witness, nor any Paper signed by him, so that the Commissioners did not know what Course to take, when one of them, who was examining the Chevalier *de Roban*, hinted, as tho' 'twould be better for him to submit himself to the King's Mercy, than to persist in the Denial of a Fact, of which (he said) there were a thousand Proofs. The Chevalier was prevailed upon by this Counsel, and discovered more particulars against himself than sufficed to condemn him; not observing that *Pommereux* repeated to him several times, *the late La Truaumont*.

The King would have been inclined to Pardon him; and the very Night before his Execution, the Duke *de Crequi* had caused the Tragedy of *Cinna* to be performed; firmly persuaded, that the example of *Augustus's* Clemency would move his Majesty to Compassion.

1675. The Campaign of 1675, opened with the taking of *Limburg*, after which the King marched back the Army, and left it

it under the Command of the Prince of ^{1675.} *Conde*, in the Plains of *Ath*, where he was encamped, when Advice was brought of the Death of Viscount *de Turenne*; the Return of his Majesty's Army on this Side the *Rhine*, after a Mighty Engagement, and the March of the Emperor's Forces into *Alsatia*.

This unhappy Conjunction obliged the King to send the Prince of *Conde* into *Germany*, with a Body of Troops detached from the Army in *Flanders*, which continued under the Command of the Duke of *Luxemburg*, who was created a Marshal of *France*, together with Messieurs *de Navailles*, *de Duras*, *de Rochefort*, *de Schomberg*, and *la Feuillade*.

Marshal *de Luxemburg*, doing whatever lay in his Power to avoid coming to a general Battle, and at the same time, to check the Enterprizes of the Enemy; kept as near as possible to the Prince of *Orange*, and for ever posted himself to so much Advantage, that he always covered the Strong-holds belonging to the King, without running any hazard. Several Parties engaged, and Marquis *de Villars* was commanded to march with four hundred Horse, against the Enemy; to fall upon their Foragers, and carry off those who guarded them; in a Word, to make whatever

1675. whatever Attempts he should think proper.

Accordingly he selected his Captains, when being followed by a great Number of Volunteer-Officers, he fell directly in with a Party of the Enemy's Horse, which being charged, was immediately defeated. Some of them were either killed or taken Prisoners; but the greatest Part got off under the covert of the Night. Marquiss *de Villars* advanced towards the opposite Army, which was encamped at the Abbey of *Waure*, and covered by Woods; and coming very near to their Guards, found they might be easily carried off. He prepared to attack them, when he perceived a very large Body of the Enemy's Horse marching to the Left, and advancing towards *Genap*, (a Rivulet) to cut off his Retreat. He did not doubt but that the Party he met and beat the Night before, had given Advice of his March; so that instead of marching to the *French* Army, he advanced with great Diligence thro' Woods towards *Nivelles*. After riding two Leagues, finding no pursuit made, he halted; and vexed at his missing those Guards, imagined, that as the Enemy had frightened away a Party, the Head of their Camp would be more undisturbed; so that after taking Refreshment, he returned

turned thro' the same Woods; advanced ^{1675.}
towards the same Guards he had seen
in the Morning, and found them in very
near the same Order; except that those
who had Standards, were drawn a little
nearer to the Camp. He now drew up
his Troops in order to Attack them;
and put himself singly at the Head of the
First, behind which he posted thirty Vo-
lunteer-Officers, or Troopers who were
best mounted; with Orders, that the in-
stant a Pistol should be fired, to charge
the first Line of the Enemy; to carry off
as many Standards as was possible, and to
take or kill as many as they should meet
along the Line for two hundred Paces;
and to gallop very fast back to the Head
of the Wood, where was the Outlet. As
for himself, marching at the Head of the
Troops, he rode directly towards the Vi-
det, or Horse-Sentry of the Enemy, who
challenging, he answered *Spain*, and that
they were a *Dutch* Party returned from
the Campaign.

He now advanced unmolested; and not
drawing his Pistol till he was come almost
close to the Videt, he carried off, with
no manner of Difficulty, the Guards of
Horse. The Volunteers obeyed their
Orders punctually; and either killed, or
took some Captains of Horse who were
riding.

1675. riding by the Camp-side. This Expedition being performed, Marquifs *de Villars* returned into the Wood; and seeing all the Enemy's Left Wing mount, he rode with the utmost Diligence towards the Rivulet *Genap*, crossed it, and then drew up his Men. A Moment after the Head of the Enemy's Horse appeared on the Bank of the Rivulet; but Marquifs *de Villars* supposing very justly, that being obliged to follow in File, they would not dare to cross that Rivulet before him, the *French* Army being within half a League of it; he therefore continued in Battle-array, and afterwards carried off his Prisoners unmolested.

Being returned to the Army, and going to give Marshal *de Luxemburg* an account of his Success, he found that the Dispatches of that General were already drawn up; but he was resolved to send the Particulars of it to the King, in his own Hand-writing. His Majesty was so gracious, at his Levee, as to give it his Father, the Marquifs, to read.

The *French* Army in *Flanders* stood merely upon the Defensive all the rest of this Campaign, and only a few Parties engaged, the most considerable of which was that of Marquifs *de Villars* above related. The Command of a Troop in his
Regiment

Regiment being vacant, he gave it to ^{1675.} *Abbé Fleury's* Brother, who, from his younger Years, had been very much attached to the *Villars* Family.

In *Germany*, Viscount *de Turenne's* Death gave the Enemy a Superiority over us. We before observed, that our Army was obliged to repass the *Rhine*, after a bloody Fight, in which Marquis *de Vaubrun*, one of our Lieutenant-Generals, lost his Life. The difficulties which had risen, with regard to the Command between Count *de Lorge*, and this Nobleman, put a stop to the Custom established among the general Officers, of rolling without regard to Seniority; for the King declared, that the oldest Officer should always Command, which certainly is of greater Advantage to the Service.

Montecuculli having *Strasburg* at his Devotion, crossed the *Rhine*; and Marshal *de Duras*, who commanded the Army after the Death of Viscount *de Turenne*, entrenched himself between *Schelestat* and *Chastenois*, a Post so advantageously situated, that *Montecuculli* did not dare to attack him in it.

At the same Time, an Army commanded by the Duke of *Zell*, and some of the Imperial Generals, besieged *Triers*, a large City, but so poorly fortified that
it

1675. it could not make a long Resistance.
'Twas commanded by *Vignory*, who lost
his Life in the Night by a Fall.

Marshal *de Crequi* had got together
an Army of twelve or fifteen thousand
Men. A Thirst of Glory determined
him to attempt the Succour of that City,
tho' with a Force greatly inferiour to that
of the Enemy. Accordingly, he drew
near the *Saare*, without however resolv-
ing to cross that River; but only to be
at hand in order to take Advantage, ei-
ther of any ill Disposition of the Enemy,
or of the Oversights they might commit
in their Approaches towards him. How-
ever, they crossed it with such Diligence,
that the Marshal had time only to draw
up his Soldiers in order of Battle. He
was attacked and beat; partly thro' the
fault of his Generals, who did not go
quick enough to their Posts, to defend
the Passage of the *Saare*: however, the
Enemy lost a considerable Number of
Men.

Thus unfortunate, he acted the most
glorious Part he could have done. Know-
ing that the Governour of *Triers* was
dead, he threw himself into the City; re-
animated the Garrison, and sustained the
Siege several Days, with great Bravery.
He even flattered himself, that by the
Vigour

Vigour and Resolution of the Garrison, ^{1675.}
or by the great Loss the Enemy had sustained, either in the Battle, or in various Attacks, (made very bloody by his Courage) of the Place; that there would be a Possibility of saving it: But the Garrison fancying he designed to sacrifice them to his Resentment; and inflamed by the seditious Discourses of one *Beaujourdan*, a Captain; delivered up the Breach, and the General to the Enemy, so that all were made Prisoners of War. However, that Officer paid dear for his infamous Cowardice, he being executed six Weeks after. Thus this Campaign was unfortunate on the *Moselle*, as well as in *Germany*, by the taking of *Hagenaw*, and the Blockade of *Philipsburg*; but still more fatal by the Death of Marshal *de Turenne*, who, by his superiour Genius, Resolution, and rare Talents for War, had not only defended our Frontiers, but carried the *French* Arms far within the Empire; and that with an inconsiderable Body of Troops, and unprovided of every thing; occasioned in some little measure by the ill-will which Mr. *de Louvois*, his open Enemy, bore him, who would not pardon that General for his Usage to him the Winter before he died.

1675. We will resume this piece of History, by relating some Court-transactions during the Winter, from 1674 to 1675. We have seen, that Viscount *de Turenne* had set out upon his march, in order to fight *Montecuculli* in the Plains of *Franconia*, after sending Advice several times to Court, that it would be impossible for him to cover the Upper and Lower *Rhine*, at the same Time. The Plans he transmitted to Court were noble and judicious; but instead of being followed there, he received such Orders from it, as suited very ill both the Service of the King, and the Merit of so great a General. The Minister, who had declared openly against him, raised him Enemies even in the very Army. One of the first Lieutenant-Generals was so bold, as to reproach, publicly, this great Man, with Errors he was not capable of committing; but Viscount *de Turenne* gave him a more prudent Answer than, perhaps, another in his Place would have done; *Write, Sir, to Court: your Arguments, tho' very poor ones, will not fail of being heard.* 'Tis pretended, that Marshal *de Turenne* being returned to *Versailles*, agreed with the Prince of *Conde* to ruin a Secretary at War, who had very little regard for either of them. 'Twas thought that

that the Prince of *Conde* promised to se-^{1675.} cond Viscount *de Turenne*, but that the Bishop of *Antun*, a Creature of *Louvois* and *Tellier* his Father, won back the Prince, over whom he had a great Ascendant; by declaring to him, that after Marshal *de Turenne* should be removed by two very able and powerful Ministers, he (the Prince of *Conde*) would possess the Command singly; and that as those two Noblemen should thereby owe their preservation to him, they would be eternally at his Devotion.

'Tis very certain that Viscount *de Turenne*, continued in his Resolution and just Resentment; so that at his return from the Campaign, he shewed his Majesty the Errors which Mr. *de Louvois* had committed, and the injudicious Orders he had received from him. He owned, that this Minister was, indeed, a Man of fine Sense, and had great Skill in the general Detail of an Army; but asserted, that he was absolutely wanting in the Knowledge and Experience necessary for succeeding in military Affairs; and that he had never met with an opportunity to acquire them. The King listened with his usual Penetration, to the solid Reasons of Viscount *de Turenne*; and had he been seconded by the Prince of *Conde*, *Louvois* had been in danger,

1675. danger. But the latter not acting with equal Vigour, certain Faults did not appear capital ones, and the King was very well pleased not to find them such.


Louvois was only ordered to ask Marshal *de Turenne's* Pardon. This General gave him such a Reception as suited his Dignity, and the Nature of the Offence. He reproached him for his Conduct with respect to the War; and said, that as to his Friendship, when he should do as many Things to deserve it, as he had done to lose it, he then would consider what was to be done. Thus ended this Court-Scene. *Louvois* continued in his Credit, and in his Design of prejudicing Viscount *de Turenne*; a Design he pursued so industriously, that the Campaign which bereaved us of this great Man, might have brought other Misfortunes upon us, had not the advanced Age of *Montecuculli*, and his over-great Caution, prompted him to rest satisfied with small Advantages, after the Death of Marshal *de Turenne*.

1676. Before we mention the Transactions relating to the Land-Armies, it will be proper to take some little notice of two famous naval Expeditions, made in the Beginning of this Year.

The *Spaniards*, desirous of freeing *Messina*, and saving *Sicily*, had solicited the States-

States-General to send them a Fleet under ^{1676.} Admiral *Ruyter*, to oblige the *French* to raise the Blockade of that City then besieging. Accordingly, the States sent them a Fleet of thirty Sail ; and *Ruyter*, who commanded it, came and cast Anchor about the end of *December* 1675, in the Road of *Melazzo* opposite to *Messina*. A Fortnight after he went in quest of the *French*, and engaged them *Jan.* 8. between the Islands of *Salines* and *Stromboli*, from ten in the Morning till Night.

The *French* Fleet was commanded by *du Quesne*, an Officer of as great Experience and Bravery as *Ruyter*. *Du Quesne* having got the Wind, bore down upon the *Dutch* with so much Violence, that *de Ruyter* confessed he had never in his Life seen so furious an Engagement. They cannonaded one another, boarded, and fought Man against Man with the utmost Courage. *Marquiss de Preuilly*, who commanded the *French* Van-guard, drove back that of the *Dutch*. The main Battle, where *Du Quesne* was, made *Ruyter* give way ; and the *Dutch* Rear-guard, encountred that of the *French*, with *Gabaret* at their Head. But notwithstanding the great Vigour with which the *Dutch* ply'd the Tackling, they yet would have been defeated by the *French*, had not a Calm ensued.

1676.  Three Months after, a second Engagement was fought, to the North-East of Mount *Gibel*, between *du Quesne* and *Ruyter*. The latter, who besieged *Agosta* by Sea, hearing that the *French* Fleet was in search of him, immediately sailed out to meet it. The Engagement began about four in the Afternoon. After fighting for half an hour, a Cannon-Ball struck *Ruyter*; carried off half his left Foot, and shattered his right Leg. In the mean Time, the Orders of his first Captain were so well obeyed, that no one perceived the Misfortune which had befallen the Admiral, who, tho' mortally wounded, did nevertheless give out Orders in his Bed, from the Advices which were brought him. Thus the Battle continued the whole Day with the same Heat, Victory not declaring for either Side; but at last, the *Dutch* gave way; and the *French* being satisfied with raising the Siege of *Agosta*, the Fleet withdrew to *Syracusa*, where the *Dutch* conveyed their Admiral, who died of his Wounds.

But now the *Dutch*, not thinking themselves safe at *Syracusa*, sailed for *Palermo*. They were chased by the Duke *de Vivonne*, who was on board the *French* Fleet, consisting of Twenty-eight Men of War, and Twenty-five Gallies. An Engagement

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was fought the 3d of *June*, when Mar-^{1676.}
 quifs *de Preuilly* advanced towards the
Dutch, whose Fire he sustained, without
 letting off a Gun. Being come within
 Cannon-shot of them, he let fly a Broad-
 Side, and at the same Time brought for-
 ward his Fire-Ships, which the Van-guard
 of the Enemy could not shun, except
 by cutting their Cables, and running a-
 Ground on the nearest Coasts; leaving
 nevertheless three *Spanish* Ships which
 were burnt. Immediately the rest of the
French Ships attacked the Rear-guard
 and the main Body, and were received
 with great Bravery. But the *Spanish* Ad-
 miral, with some Gallies, and three *Dutch*
 Ships, having taken Fire, the *Dutch* Rear-
 Admiral and his Captains cut all their
 Cables and fled. Part of the remains of
 the *Spanish* and *Dutch* Fleets were strand-
 ed under *Palermo*, and the rest sailed into
 Port, after the *Spanish* Vice-Admiral, and
 the *Dutch* Rear-Admiral had blown up.

This was one of the most fatal Engage-
 ments the Enemy met with at Sea, and
 the most glorious for *France*, whose Navy
 increased every Day in strength. The
 Campaign of 1676, began with the Siege of
Conde, which his Majesty formed in Person;
 and Marquifs *de Villars* continued to serve
 as usual, that is, to engage (at Sieges) in

1676. Actions which belonged to the Foot, tho' he himself was a Colonel of Horse. The King was pleased to speak to the Marquis on this occasion, in the most obliging Terms. His Majesty afterwards caused the Duke of Orleans to besiege *Bouchain*, he himself heading the Army of Observation, to secure the Enterprize.

The Prince of Orange having advanced to the Succour of *Bouchain*, crossed the *Scheld* at *Valenciennes*, and seemed determined to attack the King's Army, drawn up in Battle-array behind a Farm called *Urtebise*. His Majesty gave Marshal *de Villars* the Command of a Reserve of Horse between the two Lines of Foot. A Proposal was made to attack the Prince of Orange, and this the King desired, but submitting it to Marshal *de Schomberg*, this General, at the Instigation of certain Ministers of State and Courtiers, replied, when his Opinion was asked, *That at a Siege, the Glory consisted wholly in securing the Success of it.* By this artful and politic Prudence he saved the Prince of Orange, whose Army was so ill posted, and so greatly straitned, that it would have been infallibly defeated, at least exposed to the greatest Danger, had it been attacked by the *French*. *Bouchain* was taken, and the Prince of Orange marching his

his Army under *Mons*, meditated the Siege of *Maestricht*. His Majesty, at his return to *Versailles*, gave Orders to prepare for the Siege of *Aire* (*Arien*,) which his Army invested under the Command of Marshal *d'Humieres*, Marshal *de Schomberg* heading the Army of Observation.

Mr. *de Louvois*, desirous to be present at this Siege, came into *Flanders* for that purpose. All the Authority was properly lodged in him, since, interpreting the King's Will and Commands at Pleasure, he regulated the Dispositions and Marches of the Armies, writing often to the Generals, *His Majesty's Will is, that his Army, Commanded by such a one, make such a March*. Having a greater Authority over the Artillery, than even the General of the Ordnance, all his orders relating to it were very punctually obeyed.

Marquis *de Villars* had the Command of a Brigade, composed of eleven Squadrons of the Army that formed the Siege, which was ended much sooner than had been expected, by the ready Supply of Artillery, of which *du Metz* was General. Fortune itself favoured the Besiegers; for a Bomb happening to fall into a Magazine of Powder, had so violent an Effect, that a Bastion was quite opened, and the Governour capitulated.

1676.

Whilst this was doing, the Attempt of the Prince of *Orange* upon *Maestricht*, spun out to a great length. This Slowness engaged us insensibly, tho' not to succour that Place, at least to approach it, by assembling, in the mean time, so many Forces as might strike a Terror into the Enemy. The order which Marshal *d'Humieres*, after the taking of *Aire*, had received, to possess himself of Fort *Linck*, which could easily hold out ten or twelve Days, showed very evidently the little Care taken to preserve *Maestricht*, tho' so considerable a Place; but the reason of this Indifference was, the urgent Necessity of succouring *Philipsburg*, a Place of much greater consequence to us, the Loss of which would put it out of our Power, not only to support any of the States of such Princes of the Empire, as were in the Interest of *France*, and thereby give the Emperour an Opportunity of uniting them to his own; but deprived us of the Succour of the Elector of *Bavaria*, who having stood neuter, kept a standing Army of twelve or fifteen thousand Men in the *French* Pay.

After Marquiss *de Rochefort* had in vain endeavoured to throw Succours into that Place, which had been blocked up ever since Winter; Marshal *de Luxemburg*, at
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the Head of a powerful Army, had express Orders to use his utmost Efforts to succour it. In this general Design he made his Approaches, but found it would be impossible to succeed; and his Majesty being determined not to lose *Maestricht*, which *Calvau* still defended with the greatest Bravery; he at last commanded M. *Schomberg* to march directly to the Army of the Prince of *Orange*, who had already lost a great Number of Men, in the attempting to attack several detached-bastions (a new Method of Fortification invented by *Vauban*, and of great service to such Strong-holds as are spacious enough to hold a large Garrison.) In the last storming of a well-lined Bastion called *Dauphin*, placed behind a covert-way, which cost the Prince of *Orange* so many Men, the *Rhingrave* had been mortally wounded.

The King's Army was encamped at *Bonaf*, and Count *de Montal*, an old Lieutenant-General, was detached with four thousand Horse, to reconnoitre the Motions of the Enemy, at the approach of our Army. Marquiss *de Villeroy* who was afterwards Marshal of *France*, went on that Expedition in quality of Camp-Marshal; and Marquiss *de Villars* had the Command of a thousand Horse.

1676. We were scarce arrived within sight of the Enemy's Tents, when a Trumpet was seen coming from the Prince of *Orange*, to desire a Passport for the *Rhingrave*, who was mortally wounded, by which it was supposed that the Prince did not intend to wait our coming up; for had he not resolved to march, he would have no occasion for a Passport.

Montal's Detachment being arrived pretty near the Enemy's Army, word was sent to Marshal *de Schomberg*, to desire the Army might come forward, and they still advanced in the Plain, along the great Causeway. Marquiss *de Villars's* Vigour, and his strong Desire to be one of the first who should know the Dispositions of the Enemy, (in order to see whether any thing was to be done,) prompted him to advance from eminence to eminence, with eight or ten Officers very well mounted; and perceiving that the Motions of the Enemy seemed to denote a Retreat, he came back to Count *de Montal*, who again sent to Marshal *de Schomberg*, in order that he might hasten the March. But that General, who doubtless had his Reasons for acting as he did, and perhaps express Orders only to reinforce but not fight, did not come up till Evening, when their Retreat was no longer doubted.

doubted. Very early next Morning, as ^{1676.} we were got near enough their Rear-guard to engage, Count *d' Auvergne*, Colonel-General of the Horse, pressed the Marshal to fight. Marquiss *de Villars*, approaching several of the Enemy's Squadrons, received a Pistol-shot in his Hat; and seeing some Disorder in their Dispositions, went to Marshal *de Schomberg*, and represented to him in a very respectful, and at the same time judicious manner, that they might be attacked with Advantage. This General who had no such Design, could not forbear, notwithstanding the Friendship he had for the Marquiss, to answer with a certain Anger, which good Reasons generally raise, when a Person is resolved not to follow them. Marquiss *de Villars* not prevailing to have all the Rear-guard attacked, he at least was desirous of charging the last of the Enemy's Troops; and accordingly, advancing forward, his Horse was killed under him. He then returned to Marshal *de Schomberg*, who called to him, and said with an Air of Friendship; *When such a Stronghold as Maestricht is succoured without coming to a Battle, the General ought to rest satisfied; and to content a young Colonel who is eager to engage, he must give him a Party*

1676. of five hundred Horse. Get these a Commander; chuse such Officers as you think proper; and then, following the Enemy's Army three or four Days, you'll see what will become of it, and what you will be able to do without exposing yourself.

Marquiss de Villars obeyed these Orders, and next Day Evening, meeting, within half a League of the Enemy's Army, a small Convoy escorting a Party of Foragers, he attacked them, and brought off near one hundred and fifty Prisoners to Marshal de Schomberg's Army, which he met upon its March.

He gave an account of his Success to the Marshal, who, forgetting the earnestness with which the Marquiss, the Night before, had pressed him to venture a Battle, said to him; *We should have fallen out had I not given you a Detachment to follow your Friends, whom you never can lose Sight of.*

Marquiss de Villars had not taken a wink of Sleep for five or six Nights, when being oppressed with Sleep and Weariness, he laid down on the Back of a Ditch, with Orders for his Men to wake him when the Rear-guard should march by. As he was sleeping, very heavy Rains fell, so that the Ditch over which he lay

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was filled with Water. His Man, being ^{1676.} as sleepy as himself, did not wake him till he had lain a quarter of an Hour in Water. He then mounted his Horse, quite benumb'd with Cold; and that very Night was seized with so violent a Dysentery, that he was carried, very dangerously sick, to *Charleroi*. However, his Youth and happy Constitution saved his Life.

He was scarce recovered, when his Regiment was commanded to go and join *Marshal de Crequi*. This General was assembling an Army upon the *Saare*, in order to raise the Siege of *Deuxponts*, a small City, poorly fortified, and besieged by the Duke of *Zell*, who drew off his Forces upon the Arrival of those of his Majesty. Thus ended the Campaign in *Flanders*, very glorious to *France*, by the taking of *Conde*, *Bouchain*, *Aire*, and the Succour of *Maestricht*; but it was far from being so happy in *Germany*, where we lost *Philipsburg*. *Marquiss de Villars's* Regiment was sent into Garrison at *Calais*.


The Campaign of 1677 was particularly remarkable by the Importance of the Conquests. The King made Preparations to attack the three greatest and most considerable Strong-holds in the *Low-Countries*, viz. *Valenciennes*, *Cam-*
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brai,

1677. *brai*, and *St. Omer's*, the taking of any of which would have made a Campaign sufficiently glorious.

All the Troops began their March so early as the latter end of *February*. Mr. *de Louvois*, ever eminent for his Regularity, Foresight, and Contrivance, was so very active, that Provisions, Forage, and all Things necessary were found in abundance. His Majesty began with *Valenciennes*, and at the same time commanded Marshal *de Luxemburg* to invest *St. Omers*. Marquis *de Villars's* Regiment marched from *Calais* the 26th of *February*, and seized upon the Abbey of *Watte*. They shut up this Place which had but an indifferent Garrison. The old Prince *de Robec*, of the House of *Montmorenci*, was Governour of it.

Fortune favoured the King in the Siege of *Valenciennes*, which was certainly attacked in the strongest Part; but the Difficulty of the Roads, during a very severe Season, had obliged them to make use, at *St. Amand*, of the Causeway of *Valenciennes*, consequently to make the Magazines; for the Siege on that Side towards *St. Amand*, and to begin by the Crown-work. The *Scheld* was as a Ditch to the Place, and the Enemy could drown it by opening

opening their Sluices ; but the instant the ^{1677.} Crown-work had been attacked and carried, the Soldiers who defended it were in the utmost Consternation ; and those of the King were fired with so much Vigour, that they pursued them with the utmost Diligence, and entered Pell-mell with them into the *Paté* ; and thence, by a Postern which happened to be open, our foremost Granadiers appeared on the Bastion. The Enemy were in such Terror, that twelve hundred Horse drawn up in the Squares of the City, did not once dare to mount the Ramparts, to repulse a Party of Men who advanced only one by one thro' a very narrow Passage. We restrained our Troops on the Remparts ; the Smallness of their Number making them prudent in the Beginning. The City was not plundered, and all were made Prisoners of War. After this signal Success, the King sent the Duke of *Orleans*, with Marshal *d' Humiers*, and a Reinforcement sufficient to besiege *St. Omers*. The Quarters, were now contracted ; Marshal *de Luxemburg*, having, till then, disposed them in such a Manner, as only to prevent the Enemy from throwing Succours into the Place.

1677.  Two Attacks were made, one of which being supposed a feint Attack, was by the Fort *des Vaches*, a low and very marshy Soil; and the other in the higher Lands.

The very first Day the Enemy made a Sally on the Attack of Fort *des Vaches*, Marquiss *de Villars*, who seemed born to share in all Engagements, had his Quarters on that Side, and was walking on the Side of the Attack. The Moment he saw the Enemy, he flew to it, with all such Officers of his Regiment as were near him, and drove them back into the covert-way. Marquiss *de Languetot*, a Captain of his Regiment, was wounded on this occasion.

In the mean Time, the Prince of Orange prepared to relieve St. Omers, and assembled all his Forces behind *Xpres*.

He marched his Army, and encamped below *Mont-Cassell*. The Duke of Orleans made no difficulty to raise his Quarters; and leaving the Command of the Trench to Marquiss *de la Trousse*, marched towards the Prince of Orange's Army, before which the Rivulet of the Abbey *de Piennes* run. The Enemy crossed it in several Places, and a vigorous Battle was fought in the Center, by the Infantry, where
a great

a great Part of the King's Regiment of ^{1677.} Guards fell. Upon this, Marshal *d'Humiers* pushed the Enemy's Left, during which Marshal *de Luxemburg* attacked the Abbey *de Piennes*. He had given Marquifs *de Villars* a Reserve of five Squadrons, which were to the Left of all the rest, and consequently extended beyond the Enemy's Right.

Marquifs *de Villars* repaired a Bridge which lay cross the Rivulet *de Piennes*, and began to pass it, in order to charge in Flank the Right of the Enemy, who were fighting in Front, when *Chamlay* came in the Duke of Orleans's Name, and ordered him to march into the Centre, where the Troops had lost some Ground. *If there be a Disorder in the Centre*, replied Marquifs *de Villars*, *I shall come too late to remedy it; but I perceive the Enemy's Right beginning to give Ground, and I believe we had better quite rout that Wing. If the Battle is in danger in the Place you mentioned, we shall infallibly have the Advantage on this Side; so I'll march.*

Chamlay seeing Marquifs *de Villars* persist in his first Design, went and spoke to Mr. *de Soubize*, who commanded the Left of the Horse, and came with a Design to keep the Marquifs from going over the Bridge.

1677. Bridge. However, the Marquifs finding he was nevertheless in the Right, told him, that had it been any other Aid de Camp than *Chamlay*, he would not have obeyed his Orders, but that he was sensible the King reposed a peculiar Confidence in him. Accordingly, Marquifs *de Villars* obeyed; and some time after, Marshal *de Luxemburg* having won the Abbey *de Piennes*, and seeing the Enemy's Right retire without loss, he said to Marquifs *de Villars*; *I wish Chamlay's Horse's Legs had been broke, when he carried this confounded Order.* 'Tis certain, that the opposite Army might have been entirely defeated, but they only lost the Field of Battle and their Artillery; and were able, six Weeks after, to keep the Field. However, this Victory secured the Siege of *St. Omers*. Marquifs *de Villars* being in the Trench when a Parly was beat, was sent into the Place to agree upon the Capitulation. The Prince *de Robec* submitted to any Conditions that were offered, and only desired to be allowed two pieces of Cannon. The Duke would not agree to insert it as a Condition; however, he afterwards allowed them, at the Request of Marquifs *de Villars*, when he gave an account of the Capitulation.

Cambray

Cambray made but very little Resistance, ^{1677.} and was taken. In this manner, *Valenciennes*, *St. Omers*, and *Cambray*, were subjected to the King before the End of *May*.

After some Weeks Refreshment, necessary for Forces who had passed most of the Winter in the Field, *Marquiss de Villars's* Regiment was detached on the *Maes*, where *Marshal de Schomberg* lay with an inconsiderable Army, in order to reinforce the Army in *Flanders*, or that in *Germany*, according to the Enemy's Motions.

The Duke of *Lorraine* who commanded the Armies of the Emperour and the Empire, came immediately to the *Maes* with a very considerable Body of Troops, and drew *Marshal de Crequi* thither, with all the Forces under his Command. He fought to come to Action, and the Marshal avoided this, no otherwise than by seizing upon the most advantageous Posts, and by keeping always on the same Side of the *Meuse* with the Enemy. At last, the two Armies came in sight, near the Abbey of *Châtillon*. *Marshal de Crequi's* Right and Left were well covered; but he had so little depth for his two Lines, from his being hemmed in by the Woods, that

1677. that the Enemy might have fought him to some Advantage.


Whilst he was drawing up his Forces, he ordered Marquiss *de Villars* to observe the opposite Army which was advancing; and afterwards desired him to keep near him, because a Wound he had received long since, bleeding afresh, would not suffer him to sit his Horse but with the utmost Pain. The Armies kept two Days in fight; after which, that of the Emperor crossed the *Moselle* near *Thionville*, and marched under *Metz*, without performing any other Exploit than taking the Castle of *Sarreburg*. Marshal *de Crequi* continuing still to march along the Bank, both Armies returned again into *Alsatia*; that of the Emperour by the *Low-Countries*, and that of his Majesty by *Saverne*.

Marquiss *de Villars* met at this time with a small Grievance, which nevertheless confirmed him in the Belief that Fortune was on his Side; and at the same time determined him never more to ask, nor, as he himself has since said, to wish, to be in one Corps or Army rather than another. He happened to be in the Brigade of *la Valette*; and they not being Friends, he earnestly desired Marshal *de Crequi*

Crequi to remove him. The Marshal, ^{1677.} tho' he seemed to be his Friend, and even to repose a great Confidence in him, would not grant his Request, which was of great Advantage to Marquiss *de Villars*; for by his continuing in this Brigade, he had the greatest share in four considerable Engagements fought during the Remainder of that Campaign.

Marshal *de Crequi*, persisting still in his Design, viz. to dispute the Ground with the Imperial Army near *Strasbourg*, came and encamped at *Marle*, his Right extended to that small City, and his Left to the Castle of *Cokersberg*. *La Valette's* Brigade was not encamped in the Line, but was as a Reserve, posted at the Foot of the Castle of *Cokersberg*.

The Duke of *Lorraine* marched the Imperial Army to *Guguenein*, and made General *Schultus* advance with two thousand Horse, against the Horse-Guard of his Majesty's Army, at the Head of which were Count *de Schomberg*, Marshal-de-Camp of the Day, and Marquiss *de Villars*. Two hundred Piquet-Horse sustained them; and advancing too near, 'twas thought proper to march them nearer to the Castle of *Cokersberg*. The Enemy attacked, with five hundred of their

1677.  their Horse, this little Body of Cavalry, which was drawn up in order of Battle. Count *de Schomberg* and Marquiss *de Villars*, seeing these five hundred Horse at some little distance from the two thousand, from whom they were detached; marched up, defeated them, and afterwards rode towards the Castle of *Cokersberg*:


Marshal *de Crequi*, having seen the Beginning of this Action, had caused the Brigade of *la Valette*, and the Troops of the Household to mount, when finding the Enemy were not supported by their Army, he gave Orders for marching against them. Count *de Schomberg* and Marquiss *de Villars* heading the Corps, they charged as successfully as before, the first Bodies who had again rode off to too great a Distance from their main Body. Marquiss *de Villars* had two Horses killed under him. At the Beginning of the Engagement, he had been desired to put on a Coat of Mail; but he declared aloud, before the Officers and Troopers, that he did not think his Life more precious than those of the brave Men at whose Head he fought.

After the second Charge, the Brigade of *la Valette* being arrived, was drawn up

up in order of Battle, behind the first ^{1677.} Troops which had already charged, and the two hundred Horse that sustained them, but which, being weakned by their charging twice, returned into the Squadrons of that Brigade.

Marquiss *de Villars* took his Post at the Head of his Regiment, with near forty Officers, all Volunteers belonging to the Army, who, from the Beginning of the Action, had fought along with him. This Brigade, composed of seven Squadrons, and of near three hundred Horse that remained of the Centinels and the Detachment, stood in Battle-array before the Enemy, who were again come within Musket-shot, but in a Line, and presenting a Front of about twelve Squadrons. Upon this, the whole Imperial Army marched out, to sustain the two thousand Horse, and bring on a general Battle. But Marshal *de Crequi*, unwilling to proceed so far, in the Post he was, commanded the nine Squadrons of our Forces that were drawn up opposite to the Enemy, to retire thro' the Intervals of the Household Troops, which were drawing up behind this first Line.

This was a very dangerous Retreat, we being so near the Enemy, that a Squadron could not wheel about, without advancing

1677. advancing within fifty Paces of their Line.  Marquiss *de Villars* was sensible of the Danger; and told the Volunteers who were with him out of the Squadron, that the Instant they made the least Motion to retire, they might expect to be charged. He therefore desired them to continue behind those two Squadrons, and by firing their Pistols, to repulse the Enemy as far as possible. They complied very exactly and very happily with his Orders, which gave occasion to a fine Movement of the Horse a Moment after.

The Instant our Line began to turn about, the whole of that of the Enemy mov'd and followed it; but as there were forty Volunteers firing incessantly on the the Enemy, which should naturally have fallen on the Squadrons of *Villars's* Regiment, these Squadrons not being drawn up so close; he perceived, in the Right, five of the Enemy's Squadrons riding after such of ours as were retiring in the Intervals. Seeing now, that in charging this Line of the Enemy in Flank, he might attack them with Advantage; instead of returning into the Interval, he marched the Left of his two Squadrons; defeated easily the Line of the Enemy, and beat them back to the Head of their Army: So that, himself, at the Head of his

his Officers, came near the Enemy's Cannon, whose Train of Artillery marched in the Middle of all the rest, in the order of an Army that is drawing up in Battle-array. He was desirous of carrying off two or three little Pieces of Cannon, which was not impossible, and proposed it to those that followed him; but looking behind him, he saw himself with only his two Squadrons who were drawing up, and was now very sensible that he should be very fortunate, could he have an opportunity of retiring; and this he could not have done without being briskly charged, had he not very luckily fallen in with the Enemy's Columns of Foot and Train of Artillery, and consequently at some little distance from those of their Cavalry. He therefore retired without opposition, except that the Enemy's Cannon stopt, and fired upon him; and even ours, from a mistake which reflected Honour on Marquis *de Villars*, fired also; for who would have imagined, seeing two Squadrons march out of the Enemy's Center, that they were Friends? The Enemy fired seven or eight Volleys of Cannon upon him, but there were only a few Horses belonging to his Regiment killed; and at his return, Marshal *de Crequi* perceived a Trooper of *Villars's* Regiment

1677. Regiment just expiring, a Sword having been thrust thro' his Body. He asked for his Colonel, who coming up to him, *Are you satisfied, says he, with me Colonel? I desired no other Consolation than to see you before I died.*

Marshal *de Crequi* himself, charmed with Marquis *de Villars's* Action, said to him, that he was sorry his Post of General, had deprived him of the Glory of sharing in such noble Attacks.

We presumed, that the Gentlemen of the Sword would not be tired with the Relation of a particular Action, and of a Movement of Horse, of so singular a Kind, that it deserved to be related minutely; since it may be of Advantage to them to be taught by those Methods in which Parties were successful; and as they themselves may employ them on the like Occasion.

Whilst that the Armies of *France* and those of the Emperour disputed the Ground in this manner in the neighbourhood of *Strasburg*, the Prince of *Saxony-Eisenac* who commanded a Body on the Upper *Rhine*, had laid a Bridge near the Village of *Huningue*; and seized upon a Redoubt which was rather a Land-mark between our Territories and those of *Basil*, than a Fortification. In the mean Time Baron
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de Montclar, Lieutenant-General of the King's Armies, was detached with a small Body to oppose the Prince of *Saxony*, who, not being able to settle himself there, repassed the *Rhine*. The Duke of *Lorraine* having marched away, his Majesty's Army crossed the *Rhine* at *Brisac*, about the same time that the Prince of *Saxony* above-mentioned, drew near Fort *Kbel*, and posted his Troops under it.

Marshal *de Crequi* being resolved to attack him, made a feint March; the Brigade *de la Valette* being at the Head of the March, and at the Beginning of the Night, they came to the Banks of the *Kintze*. Marquis *de Villars* was then detached with three hundred Horse, with Orders to cross it first, and observe whether any Attempt might be made. After crossing, and drawing up his few Troops in order of Battle, he drew near the Enemy; he found a Barrier guarded by some Infantry which fired, and went along a kind of Dike, secured by a Ditch which extended from the *Kintze* to the *Rhine*. 'Twas very dark, and by the noise the Enemy made, 'twas judged that they stood in Battle-array, behind the Dike abovementioned. He imagined, that by waiting till he might have Troops sufficient to attack them, it would be best for him, to oblige them to spread

E themselves,

1677. themselves, by disturbing them in different Places. For this purpose he sent six or seven Detachments, of seven or eight Troopers each; ordering them to fire in different Places, and to make a great noise along the Dike, which being done, he returned to the Barrier, that was now abandoned. At the same time he ordered a Lieutenant of his own Regiment, a very bold Man, with twenty Troopers, to enter it. This Lieutenant found the Enemy's Horse in order of Battle, within two hundred Paces of the Dike, and came and informed Marquifs *de Villars* of it.

The Marquifs sent his Lieutenant a second Time, who immediately returned, and told him that the Enemy made a Motion as tho' they intended to retire; and that some Squadrons had already begun to turn about. Marquifs *de Villars* having upwards of fifteen Trumpets, belonging to his own Detachment, and those who had followed the Captains who fought as Volunteers under him, he divided them; made them all sound to Battle, and, with his four Troops, charged the Enemy, who were upwards of two thousand Horse; but preparing to retire, these fired as they turned about, and all were defeated.

They

They were charged briskly, when the ^{1677.} Guard of Marshal *de Crequi*, forming a Squadron which marched at the Head of the Army, charged, behind, through mistake, Marquiss *de Villars's* Troop; and killed his Quarter-master, and some Troopers in the last Rank. Marquiss *de Villars*, who might naturally believe he was surrounded with Enemies, (they being so numerous, and he having so few) faced about to those who attacked him behind; several of Marshal *de Crequi's* Guards were killed; and they did not know one another but by the Light of the firing, and by the Parole for rallying, which was *Villars*. This Accident prevented their pursuing the Enemy so briskly as they otherwise would have done, and yet the greatest Part of them plunged into the *Rhine*, and let fall their Equipage.

Marshal *de Crequi* finding the Duke of *Lorraine* was marching away, and the Prince of *Saxony-Eisnac* retired under *Straßburg*; made all the Dispositions necessary to have it believed, that he designed to repass the *Rhine*, and go into Winter-quarters. Orders were sent with regard to the Route the Army was to take; and it being pretty far in *November*, the Duke of *Lorraine* could scarce imagine that Marshal *de Crequi* intended

1677. to besiege *Friburg*. This City was fortified with but a double Range of pretty strong Walls, flanked with old Towers, and with a Castle on the brow of a Mountain, strong enough, but very small.

To cut off all Forage from the Enemy, whom we supposed would march to the Succour of *Friburg*, the Instant they should hear of our Design to attack them; Marshal *de Crequi* set fire to all the Country lying between the Mountains and the *Rhine*, upwards towards *Brisac*. But Marquiss *de Villars*, who commanded the Rear-guard of the Army with three hundred Horse, and who, being naturally humane, was consequently averse to Cruelty, saved, in opposition to the General's Orders, part of the little Cities to which we set fire in our march.

We fixed our Quarters round *Friburg*, and the Brigade of *la Valette* was quartered in the Abbey of *Kenderstat*.

The Duke of *Lorrain* was no sooner informed that Marshal *de Crequi*, instead of repassing the *Rhine*, attempted the Siege of *Friburg*, but he assembled his Forces with a Design to Succour it; and immediately dispatched, by the narrow Passes of *Valkirk*, a Body of Horse, Dragoons, and a thousand chosen Foot,
with

with Orders to throw themselves, by the way of the Mountains, into the City. 1677.

They were ordered to Forage in the Valley of *Valkirk*. Marquifs *de Villars* who commanded an Escort of three hundred Horse, hearing of the march of the Succours abovementioned, advanced into the Valley ; when the Enemy seeing their Passage intercepted, thought only of retiring. Marquifs *de Villars* soon perceived by their Motions, that they were more sollicitous to make a retreat, than to attack us. He urged General *Genlis*, who commanded the Foragers, to give him a Party of Men, to make such Attempts as he might think proper. Immediately he attacked and defeated the most advanced of the Enemy's Troops, as also three hundred of their Dragoons, who had dismounted, in order to maintain a narrow Pass. However, scarce had he forced them, but he found himself deprived of Troops ; General *Genlis* being determined not to engage, whereby this Body of the Enemy, which might have been entirely defeated, lost but two hundred Troopers or Dragoons. Marshal *de Crequi* came forward in great Diligence, and being told that Marquifs *de Villars's* Design had not been pursued, nor his first Success seconded, was very angry, and ex-

1677. pressed his Resentment upon that Account to those who had opposed it.

The Siege of *Friburg* advanced. An Assault was made on the outward Wall, and Marquiss *de Villars* mounted thither at the Head of the Grenadiers. The very next Day the Governour capitulated for the City and the Castle, which one would have imagined could not have been taken when the Season was so far advanced.

The Duke of *Lorraine* had issued out Orders every where, for throwing of Succours into *Friburg*. The Governours of *Constance*, of *Rhinfeld*, and of the * forrestiere Cities, had assembled all their Garrisons, and three or four thousand *Schnaphans*, (by which Name the Peasants of the Mountains, a warlike People, are called.) All this Body marched over the Mountain-tops, not knowing that the Governour of *Friburg* had capitulated; so that they attacked the Abbey of *Kenderstat*, where the Brigade of *la Valette* quartered, at the time that the Garrison of *Friburg* was marching out.

Marquiss *de Villars* was with Marshal

* This is a Name given to four Cities in Germany, *Rhinfeld*, *Valdsust*, *Sekingben*, and *Lauffemburg*, all so called, because they anciently were in the *Black Forest*.

de Crequi, when hearing, not far from his ^{1677.} Quarters, a great Discharge of the small Arms, he flew thither, and found the Abbey invested, and briskly attacked by the Enemy, who had barred the Avenues of it. A Captain of his Regiment defended a Breach with twenty Troopers on foot. All were in the utmost Confusion; several had hid themselves, being resolved not to make a Defence; but he no sooner appeared, than all were inspired with Courage; and seeing there would be no other way to save this Brigade, than by forcing the Enemy, he put himself at the Head of fifty Troopers, and broke thro' all the Fire of the Enemy's Foot, who perceiving Succours coming from the other Quarters, thought only of retiring. Thus *Marquiss de Villars*, by continuing in the Brigade *de la Valette*, shared in the beginning of the Battle of *Cokersberg*, in the defeat of the Prince of *Saxony-Eisenac*, and the two Engagements of *Valkirk* and *Kenderstat*.

As to the other Actions, in which he served as Volunteer, in the Course of this Campaign, it was merely by seeking ardently for, and with a real desire to meet with them, that engaged him in them; and indeed, 'tis by this method only that one Soldier can learn more than another. Ma-

1677. ny an Officer shall perform his Duty exactly during a long course of Years, and yet may not happen to be present at one Action.

Marquiss *de Villars* returned to Court, in order to spend the Winter there. The King had sent often for him; but his strong Passion for a Lady, tho' it did not engross one of the Days he owed to the Service, did nevertheless take up many of those he might have employed in making his Fortune.

Mr. *de Louvois* discovered an enmity to him on all occasions. The Regiment of *Villars* was always allotted bad Quarters, and consequently could never make a splendid Figure. But then, the Bravery of the Leader, and the several Individuals of it, diffused such a Splendor round it as Magnificence can never give nor compensate for; and which even despises every Thing specious.

In the mean time, Marquiss *de Villars*, careless of paying his Court, and at Enmity with the Secretary of War, by the Hatred he bore to Marquiss *de Villars's* Father, and Marshal *de Bellefonds*; had the Dissatisfaction to see, this Winter, some younger Officers advanced to the Post of Brigadier, and himself continue where he was. In the preceeding Campaign, Marquiss

quifs *de Bordage*, Nephew to Viscount *de* ^{1677.} *Turenne* had been promoted to his Prejudice; but this Campaign had been so fortunate to him, that he might now naturally expect to rise. He therefore took Liberty to mention his great Uneasiness to his Majesty, in very strong, but at the same time respectful Terms. His Majesty answered him twice in very mild Words, and even applauded his Actions; but the third time he spoke with some little Severity, and Marquifs *de Villars* withdrew. Reduced to the Necessity of making himself a Merit which might force Fortune to declare in his Favour, and to be, as it were, his own Creature; his Bravery suggested the only Course which Reason would have advised him to take, that is, to still serve his Majesty, and surmount all Obstacles, — or die.

About the close of this Year, the Prince of *Orange* married Princess *Mary*, the Duke of *York*'s eldest Daughter. She was looked upon as presumptive Heiress to the Kingdoms of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, as King *Charles* had no legitimate Children, nor the Duke of *York* any Male Issue.

During the Campaign of ^{1678.} 1678, Marquifs *de Villars*'s Regiment was appointed to join the Army under Marshal *de Cre-*

1678. *qui*, and accordingly marched to it about the latter end of *May*.

This Army was encamped in the Plain of *Newburg*. That of the Duke of *Lorraine* advanced towards it; and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* came, at the Head of a thousand Horse, to attack our Guards. At that time the grand Guards were Squadrons, with Standards; and the ordinary Guards were Detachments of fifty Troopers posted up and down the Front of the Army. Since that time the Squadron-Guards have been suppressed, and the ordinary Guards only have been made use of. Marquis *de Villars*, who commanded the grand Guard of the Left of the Army, spying a considerable Body of the Enemy's Horse march towards our Guards, who were posted (to the Right) on a Spot quite shaded with Trees, whereas the Place they guarded was a wide extended Plain; posted to the Left, (he being in no danger from that Quarter) two small Guards of ten Troopers; whilst himself, with his Squadron, and three of the ordinary Guards, trotted hard in order to succour three hundred Horse commanded by *Ollier*, a Colonel of Horse, who was very briskly attacked by Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*. He arrived at the Bank of the little Rivulet of *Newburg*, (which covered the Head

Head of the Camp,) time enough to save ^{1678.} those three hundred Horse who were galloping away with the utmost Speed. Olier was killed, but Marquiss *de Villars* rallied the rest of this Detachment, and stopt the Prince of *Baden*.

At the time that Marquiss *de Villars* had left his Post, in order to charge the Enemy, the Squadron of the Life-Guards, to the Right, had behaved very differently, they retiring in proportion as the Enemy advanced. Marshal *de Crequi* coming up that Moment, Marquiss *de Villars*, who knew that several General-Officers had censured him, by declaring, that the Camp-Guards were appointed to give notice, but not to fight, and ought never to quit their Posts; said to the Marshal, in Presence of those who had blamed him: *I am but Young, and consequently have a great many Things to learn, for which Reason I take the Liberty to ask my General, whether if, happening to be upon Guard in a very open Country, and in no Danger of being attacked; I did well or ill, in leaving two small Guards only on this Post; and in marching out against the Enemy, who bore hard upon our Troops, and attempted to enter the Camp.* Marshal *de Crequi* made such an Answer as could not but be very grating to those General-Officers. Tho' he did

1678. not know them, he did not spare them in any manner, but declared plainly, *that none but Cowards and Pedants would disapprove of Marquiss de Villars's Conduct; that he himself thanked him for it, and therefore intrcated him to take a few Hours Rest, and afterwards put himself at the Head of five hundred Horse, which he had appointed for him.*

Marquiss *de Villars* marched this Party against the Enemy; bore hard on several Guards, and brought back some Prisoners. Marshal *de Crequi* having notice that the Enemy had posted a Body under *Rheinsfeld*, a small City on the *Rhine*, three Leagues above *Basil*, marched in the Night, and surprized those Troops, the greatest Part of which retired over *Rheinsfeld* Bridge. Marquiss *de Tessé*, a Colonel of Dragoons, pursued them at the Head of his Regiment, with the utmost Speed, and was wounded; but drove them to the Bridge. Our Dragoons killed a very great Number of them; but Marquiss *de Ranés*, a Lieutenant-General of the King's Armies, and Colonel-General of the Dragoons, lost his Life.

Marshal *de Crequi* having, by this Action, drove the greatest Part of the Imperial Army towards *Rheinsfeld*, thought by a Counter-march, that he could reach *Offsenburg*,


senburg, a small City, situated on the ^{1678.}
Kintze, not far from *Strasburg*, before that
the Duke of *Lorraine* would be able to
throw in any Succours there; and that
he might possess himself of it in a few
Days; especially as it was but poorly for-
tified, and the Garrison very weak. Ac-
cordingly he marched twenty-seven
Leagues in four Days, with Horse, Foot,
and Cannon; the heavy Baggage follow-
ing slowly after.

The Duke of *Lorraine* seeing *Rheinsfeld*
was in no Danger, saw through Marshal
de Crequi's Designs; and at the same time
that the *French* Army were moving, in
order to attack *Offenburg*, that of the Em-
perour set out from behind the Moun-
tains, to save that City; by which means
the Head of the two Armies met, as at a
Rendezvous, at the Foot of the Castle of
Artemburg, standing on the *Kintze*, at
the Outlet of the Mountains. Marquiss *de*
Villars was at the Head of the most ad-
vanced Troops, when they attacking the
Heads of those of the Emperour, the first
five or six Squadrons of his were defeat-
ed. Marquiss *de Villars* took Colonel
Renfin, a Native of *Lorraine*; and they re-
pulsed the Enemy to the very Walls of
the little City of *Gegembach*, possessed by
them. The Diligence they made, saved
Offenburg;

1678. *Offenburg* ; but Marshal *de Crequi* resolved to attack Fort *Kebl*, at that time a very indifferent, small Fortification of Earth, which covered the Head of *Strasburg*-Bridge.

Accordingly a Trench was opened, in order that we might post ourselves in such a Manner, as to be able, the next Day, to attempt an Assault on this little Work, without going at too great a Distance. Ten Companies of Granadiers and three hundred Dragoons, sustained by four Battalions, were ordered upon this Expedition, and set out upon their March in open Day. Marquiss *de Villars* happening to be that Moment in the Trench, put himself at the Head of the first Detachment. He was dressed in a Suit embroidered with Gold ; and Marshal *de Crequi* seeing him mount the Breach first, which the Pikemen defended for some time, assured those who stood round him, that Marquiss *de Villars* would certainly rise in the World, and said to him at his Return ; *Young Man, if Heaven prolong your Life, no Officer stands so fair to succeed me in my Employment, as your self.*


Fort *Kebl* being won, Marquiss *de Crequi* razed the Fortifications of it, and after setting Fire to the Houses, repassed the *Rhine*, in order to March downward towards *Landau*. The Duke of *Lorraine* crossed

crossed that River above *Philipsburg*, at 1678. the Village called *Limersin*. 

These were the only considerable Actions during the rest of this Campaign, except those in which Marquiss *de Villars* was engaged, who indeed fought them so eagerly that it was impossible but he must meet with some. Having followed Marshal *de Boufflers*, who was commanded to go upon a Party of Forage, he arrived with him at the Head of the Escorts. After having seated the Foragers, he met with a great Number who had pierced into a Valley, where they were covered by only an hundred Dragoons, in two separate Bodies. Scarce had he found the Danger he was in, when four hundred of the Enemy's Horse rushed upon the hundred Dragoons. Marquiss *de Boufflers* ran towards the Foragers, in order to assemble such of them as were armed ; and Marquiss *de Villars*, at the Head of a Party of the Queen's Dragoons, maintained resolutely a very narrow Defile. As he attempted to stop a Dragoon who was flying, he seized the Bridle of the Horse which pranced about, when both Man and Horse were killed ; and Marquiss *de Villars*, being behind the slain Horse, halted resolutely in the way. Five or six Volunteer-Officers, and among the rest
one

1678. one *Virmon*, a Captain of the Colonel-General's Regiment of Horse, halted near him; and the few Moments they gave Marshal *de Boufflers*, to assemble his Troops, sufficed them to keep the Enemy from dispersing our Foragers, and taking great Numbers of them Prisoners. This Action of Marquis *de Villars*, engaged the Prince of *Conde*, who was a supreme Judge of Valour, to write him a Letter full of Compliments on that occasion.

Thus ended the Campaign of 1678. All *Europe*, grown quite weary of War, was extremely desirous of Peace. The Treaties which had been interrupted at *Colen*, and revived at *Nimeguen*, were now going forward. That between *Spain*, *Great-Britain*, the States of *Holland*, and the Emperour was concluded; but the Elector of *Brandenburg* could not be prevailed upon to give back several Territories and Strong-holds won from the Crown of *Sweden*. However, as his Majesty sacrificed one Part of his Conquests in *Flanders*, to the Interest of the King of *Sweden* his Ally, those of the Elector of *Brandenburg* abandoned him. Marshal *de Crequi*, at the Head of the King's Army, crossed the *Veser*, and defeated some of the Elector's Forces; after which the Prince submitted

submitted to the Conditions of the Treaty ^{1678.}
of *Nimeguen*. 


At the same time Marshal *d' Humieres*, set out upon his March to seize *Homburg*, a small Town on the other Side the *Saare* belonging to the old Duke of *Lorrain*, and possessed, for many Years, by the Elector of *Mentz*. Marquiss *de Villars* marched in this Army. The Governour of the Place surrendred, after standing some Volleys of Cannon; and in the middle of 1679, a general Peace was concluded all over *Europe*. Marquiss *de Villars*, notwithstanding his great Services, continued still in the same Post; but a violent Passion he had for a Lady, made him insensible to all the Rigours of Fortune. Another Affair of the same Nature brought him under a little Disgrace at Court; and accordingly he was commanded to absent himself from it for some time.


The Nuptials of Princess *Mary Louisa*, eldest Daughter to the Duke of *Orleans*, were solemnized with the King of *Spain*, at whose Court Marquiss *de Villars's* Father, as we before observed, was Embassador; and the Year after, the Dauphin was married to the Princess of *Bavaria*.

'Tis well known, that the Years 1681 and 1682, are not remarkable for any considerable

1678. considerable Event, except that in the former, *Strasburg* submitted to the *French*. The Capitulation was signed, on one Part by *Marquifs de Louvois*, and *Baron de Montelar* who commanded in *Alsatia*; and on the other by eight Deputies of the City, which was preserved in all its Privileges.

1682. *Theodore-Alexowits* Grand Duke of *Muscovy* died in 1682, and great Troubles broke out after his Death. He left only two Brothers and a Sister, who were all very young; and Prince *Galiczin* was appointed their Governour. *John*, the eldest, associated his younger Brother *Peter* in the Government with him; but Princess *Sophia* and Prince *Galiczin* conspired against the latter. 'Tis pretended, that this Princess designed to marry Prince *Galiczin's* Son, and seat her Consort on the Throne; but *Peter* discovering the Conspiracy, confined *Sophia* in a Convent, banished *Galiczin*, and made away with most of the Creatures of his Brother *John*; who nevertheless still preserved the Title of *Czar*, but intermeddled so little with the Affairs of Government, that very little mention was made of him afterwards. With regard to *Peter Alexowitz*, he had so considerable a Share in a great Number of remarkable Events of late Years, that

that he has gained himself a much greater ^{1682.}
Name than any of his Predecessors. 

After some Years of Peace, the War ^{1683.}
broke out again in 1683, by the taking 
of *Courtray* and *Luxemburg*, and ended
with the taking of the latter; but this
War, tho' so very short, had like to have
proved fatal to Marquiss *de Villars*. He
was detached, with Count *de Montal*, who
was advancing towards *Charleroi*, with a
Body of Horse. Marquiss *de Villars*, ob-
serving that the Besieged levelled some
pieces of Cannon at twelve or fifteen Offi-
cers who stood near him, said to them,
(pointing to a Gun) *that will come very near*
us; and just as he was going to give his
Cloak to a Valet de Chambre, the Mo-
tion he made, saved him from the Ball,
which killed his Valet de Chambre.

A War being now broke out between the
Emperour and the Grand Signior, Marquiss
de Villars could not refuse this Opportu-
nity of leaving a Repose, that indeed was
not so to him. He used his utmost Endea-
vours to obtain Leave to serve in the Em-
perour's Armies, but did not dare to ask
it, as it had been refused to the Prince of
Conti: his Majesty, from a wise Fore-
sight, being afraid, that in case he should
grant such a Permission, great Numbers
of

1683. of the Nobility would go and sacrifice
their Lives in those foreign Wars.

It was necessary therefore for Marquiss *de Villars* to obtain Leave to quit the Kingdom without displeasing his Majesty, and for that purpose, he requested several Commissions which were to be executed in foreign Courts. At last, he was appointed to wait upon the Emperour, and condole him, in the King's Name, on the Death of the Empress his Mother. The Marquiss was now quite fallen out with Mr. *de Louvois*, and exasperated at the Injustice he had done him; however, he went and took leave of him, and all he could get from that Minister, was, repeated Affeверations that he would not oppose any Favours his Majesty might please to bestow upon him. This cold Speech, obliged Marquiss *de Villars* to make him the following Answer, *after such a Promise I may expect your Favour as usual*; and immediately, he left the Room without saluting him.

Marquiss *de Villars's* Reputation had reached the Emperour's Court before his Arrival there. Several Generals had heard his Name mentioned in the Battles fought during the last Wars; and the *Germans* expressed their Regret at his having been so ill rewarded by his Country, for the

the great Services he had done it. He met with a very gracious Reception at this Court, and Count *de Stratman*, a Minister of State, in whom the Emperour reposed the greatest Confidence, gave him the strongest Marks of his Friendship; and even endeavoured to engage him in the Emperour's Interest, by assuring him, that more Justice would be done him at *Vienna*. 1683.

The first Letters which Marquiss *de Villars* writ from this City to the King, concerning the Emperour's Court, the Cabals that divided the Ministers and the Generals, and particularly the Duke of *Lorraine*, and Prince *Herman* of *Baden*; gave his Majesty great Satisfaction. He had not distinguished any thing in the Marquiss but his Courage; however, he, on this occasion, plainly discovered that he had not known all his Qualities, and that he also was a Man of Wit and Genius; had a very happy Talent for conducting of Negotiations; and found, that tho' he was born for War, he yet might be useful in times of Peace.

The Elector of *Bavaria* came to *Vienna*, and showed Marquiss *de Villars* the utmost Civility. He even admitted him into his Confidence; and the King, very desirous of winning back to his Interest a Prince who

1677. who was entirely devoted to the Empe-
 rour's Service, notwithstanding, his Fa-
 ther had adhered so strongly to the *French*
 Interest, and the Alliance of his Sister,
 Consort to the Dauphin; commanded
 Marquiss *de Villars* to follow the Elector
 to *Munich*; however, not as tho' he went
 upon a private Design, but only to pay
 his Court to a Prince, in Gratitude for the
 Civilities he had received from him.

We are now going to enter upon a Ne-
 gotiation that was carried on with great
 Warmth, and which engaged Marquiss
de Villars to be present in the Wars of
Hungary, of which he always strongly de-
 sired to be a Spectator.

The Elector had long indulged a Pas-
 sion for the Countess of *Kaunitz*, a Lady
 of great Wit. Her Husband a Person of
 vast Abilities, and who was afterwards one
 of the Emperour's Chief Ministers, conni-
 ved very patiently at this Intrigue, since it
 contributed to the Advancement of his For-
 tune; as well because of the Benefactions
 he received from the Elector, as the Es-
 teem he gained at the Imperial Court;
 by the Elector's sacrificing entirely his
 Troops and Money to serve the Empe-
 rour. The Countess of *Kaunitz* had so
 great an Ascendant over this Prince, that
 he granted whatever she could ask. He
 also

also was determined to serve in all the Wars in *Hungary*; so that he consumed, in a few Years, the vast Treasure the Elector his Father had amassed. Marquis *de Villars* soon found, that he must cure the Elector of his Passion for the Countess of *Kaunitz*, before he could draw him from the Emperour's Interest.

This Passion, as well as the Lady's Beauty, was upon the Decline; but both Husband and Wife had got entire Possession of the Elector's Court, and every thing in it was at their Devotion.

Marquis *de Villars* began with inspiring the Elector with a Desire of inviting to *Munich* the young Countess of *Ve'en*, one of the Empress's Ladies, with whom the Elector had corresponded before his last Journey to *Vienna*. This young Lady arrived with the utmost Privacy. A small, secret Apartment had been prepared for her in the Palace; however, she had so little Sense and Wit, that the Marquis soon found she would be of no use to him, except her having contributed to free the Elector from his former Chains.

An *Italian* young Gentlewoman, *Canossa* by Name, took the young Countess's Place. This Girl was exquisitely beautiful, and much more so, than was necessary for one who was Mistress of so much Wit.

As

1677. As ſhe had made Gallantry her Study in *Venice*, ſhe gave very ſkilful Leſſons on that Subject in *Munich*. All the remaining Part of the Winter was ſpent in Pleaſure. The Eleſtor was very deſirous of going to *Venice*, in order to paſs another Carnival there; but Marquiſ *de Villars* prevailed to make him lay aſide his Deſign; by repreſenting to him, that 'twas more auſt, and even more agreeable, for a Sovereign to continue in his own Court, than to ramble up and down the World; and that Glory only ought to force a great Prince to leave his own Country. At laſt, they ſet out for *Hungary*.

When Marquiſ *de Villars* ſaw that the Eleſtor, tired with his former Miſtreſs, began to be ſenſible of the Tyranny of the Imperial Miniſters, he adviſed him very earneſtly to diſſemble his Thoughts; eſpecially as he was to go through *Vienna*, and commanded the Emperour's Armies in Conjunction with the Duke of *Lorrain*. He only told him, that he might endeavour to ſeem to have contracted a greater Intimacy with the Duke of *Lorrain*; to be more ſenſible of his own Dignity, and deſirous of freeing himſelf from a kind of Guardianship or Tuition, under which he till then had been very cloſely confined.

Marquiſ

Marquifs *de Villars* informed his Majesty, that as he knew certainly all his Letters would be opened, he therefore would not write any thing either from *Vienna* or the Army, but what he himself should be willing to have known to the Emperour's Ministers. But that with regard to the Service, he would behave in the Imperial Army, as tho' he had been a Native of *Austria*; and he did so. 1683.

The Elector fet out for the Campaign with a very magnificent Equipage. There were one hundred and fifty great Boats, which came up with them near *Alten Eting* in *Bavaria*, where great Devotion was paying to a Saint. In four Days they reached *Vienna*, where the Elector made a very short Stay. He had purposefully left *Munich* very late.


The Campaign was already opened in *Hungary*. The Duke of *Lorrain*, whose real Intention was to march to *Esseck*, as to the most important Conquest that could be won; and because 'tis very difficult for a large Army to maintain a War at a great Distance from the *Danube*; because this River brings Provisions of every kind, and Ammunition; endeavoured to divide the Forces of the *Turks*, by annoying them both to the Right and Left of the *Danube*; and marched first towards
F *Segedin*, 1684.

1684. *Segedin*, as tho' he intended to enter *Transylvania*, or attack the City of *Waradin*.

But the *Turks* did not suffer themselves to be over-reached. They continued entrenched under *Esseck*, which they judged so considerable a Post, that it made them neglect to oppose the Passage of the *Drave*, which was so difficult in it self, that the Emperour's Forces were forced to build twenty-five Bridges on Boats, in order to cross it. Several Arms of this River are larger than the * *Marne*.

The Army having crossed, the next thing was to march against the *Turks*. The Imperialists passed to the Left of the Castle of *Walpo*, garrisoned by four or five hundred *Turks*; and went three or four Leagues thro' Woods, in their way to *Esseck*. They marched with the utmost Caution, the Foot mixed with the Horse, that is, a Detachment of a thousand Horse, which drove back about two thousand *Spahis*, who retired three hundred Paces before them, and brought back the Scouts of the Imperial Army as far as the first Squadrons, at the Head of which the Duke of *Lorrain* was posted. Marquis *de Villars*, in order that he might not lose any part of the Action,

* A considerable River of *France*.

nor of the General's Orders, kept as near 1684.
 his Person as was proper for a Gentleman 
 who served as Volunteer. This Prince
 marched single; after him followed *Capprara*, Count *Taff*, and two more of the
 chief Generals, the rest being distributed
 in the several Divisions; for the Duke
 had laid it down as a Maxim, to have al-
 ways, near his Person, three or four of
 the principal Generals, who had no Post
 in the Army, but who, on every impor-
 tant Occasion, used to go and cause his
 Orders to be executed with greater ex-
 actness than his Aid de Camps could have
 done; and this Marquis *de Villars* him-
 self has since practised, in the great Ar-
 mies where he was Generalissimo.

The March was faster or slower, ac-
 cording to the thickness or openness of the
 Woods thro' which they pass'd. The Im-
 perialists spread five or six Battalions, and
 as many Squadrons; and they let slip no
 Opportunity of drawing up in order of
 Battle, whenever the Ground would allow
 of it.


In fine, after marching a whole Day
 and part of the Night, they came out of
 the Woods at Day-break, when they saw
 the *Turkish* Army intrenched on the Brow
 of a Hill, having the *Drave* to the Right,

1684. the *Danube* to their Left, and the City of *Esseck* behind, and in their Center.

The whole Front of the Line seemed spread with Colours and Standards, and upwards of one hundred and fifty Cannon were disposed in the intervals of the Troops. Two thousand *Spabis*, or near that Number, appeared without the Intrenchments, part of which, detached from Time to Time, to skirmish with such of the Imperialists as advanced a few Paces from their Line, which however, the Generals prevented as much as lay in their Power.

The Duke of *Lorrain* was very cautious in spreading his Forces, and drew up his Line by insensible Degrees; the Foot, covered by his Chevaux de Frise, gaining Ground, and extending along the Woods; some Squadrons marching in the midst of the Battalions, intermixed with Brigades of Ordnances, whilst that of the Enemy was firing continually. In fine, a whole Day, from three of the Morning till ten in the Evening, was spent in drawing up the Army in Battle-array. They rectified in the Night, whatever Defects were in the Order of Battle; so that 'twas nine in the Morning before the Army was in a Condition to march against the Enemy.

The Order of the Battle being well disposed, the Generals came within Musket-shot

ket-shot of the Intrenchments, in order 1685.
 to reconnoitre them. They obliged by dint 
 of Cannon, all such *Turks* as were with-
 out, to retire into them; and after recon-
 noitring six or seven Hours, they judged
 it would be impossible to attack them in
 their Trenches. Immediately the Impe-
 rial Generals resolved to retire in the same
 Order, and with the same Caution as they
 had marched. As the Right had the Van-
 guard, the Left made the Retreat; and
 Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* who commanded
 it under the Elector of *Bavaria*, perform-
 ed the whole with the utmost Regularity,
 he having disposed twenty Battallions for
 that purpose. They, at first, were drawn
 up in two Lines; afterwards, the second
 being divided into two, formed a kind of
 square Battalion, the two Branches of
 which extended within the Woods, and
 closed the middle, in which six Squadrons
 of the oldest Regiments were posted.
 Thus, in proportion as the two Branches
 spread within the Wood, the first Line
 drew near it in order of Battle; and the
 Front of this Line diminished insensi-
 bly. By this means all got again into the
 Woods without uncovering their Flanks.

The *Turks* being satisfied that the Im-
 perialists were retired, did not endeavour
 to molest them; and the Generals resolved

1685. not to attack the Castle of *Walpo*, tho' they had left it invested at their March to *Esseck*. The Emperour's Army repassed the *Drave* with the same Ease as they passed it, the *Turks* not once moving towards the Head of the Bridges, either to stop, or to attack the Rear-guard, both of which they might easily have done.

Marquiss *de Villars*, being very desirous to acquaint himself with a Species of War so different from ours, was perpetually busying himself in every thing that related to it; sometimes asking Questions of the chief *Turkish* Officers who were Prisoners; at other Times, of such Imperialists as had been Slaves in *Turkey*, and among the rest Chevalier *Sentiny*, who had served under a Visier three Years. He took the strictest Notice of every particular relating to War, and has written very instructive Memoires, with regard to all the Orders and Differences of the *Eastern* Troops.

The Emperour's Army having repassed the *Drave*, thought the Campaign lost, which it would certainly have been, had not the Ignorance and Rashness of the *Turks* prompted them to undertake such Motions as were vastly impolitic. For a Peace was concluding secretly; and the Grand Segnior, as well as the Emperour, who

who was very much straitned by the Adv-^{1685.}
 vantages *France* had gained, ever since the War had been carried on against the *Turks*, were equally desirous of it. The King had possessed himself of *Strasburg* : The Duke of *Mantua* had sold us *Cazal*, by a Treaty begun in *Flanders*, and continued on the Spot, (as appears from the Letters of Mr. *de Louvois*, and of *Abbé Morel* ;) afterwards discontinued, and at last revived again. The *French* had besieged and taken *Luxemburg*, the most important Strong-hold possessed by the *Spaniards*, to secure to *Flanders* the Commerce of the Empire; and the *Spaniards* being unable to make a Defence, had consented to whatever Conditions had been required from them. The King was fortifying *Mont-Royal*, *Traerbach*, *Landaw*, *Longway*, *Sarre-Lewis*, and all the Strong-holds that opened to us all such Territories of the Empire, as are situated on the hither Side of the *Rhine*. Thus the Empire being threatned, *Italy* shaken by the loss of *Cazal*, and all the States bordering upon *France*, intimidated by its Power, would not permit the Empe-
 rour to suspend any longer the conclusion of a Peace with the *Turks*. The Duke of *Lorraine* himself, to excuse the Difficulties he had started, with regard to the Battle

1685. which was wone some Days after, did not scruple to declare afterwards to Marquiss *de Villars*, who first advised engaging the *Turks*; that when a Peace of so much Importance was upon the Point of being concluded, a Battle ought not to be fought merely to divert the Volunteers. The Sentiments of this Volunteer might be considered of some Importance, from the great Credit he was known to have with the Elector of *Bavaria*.

The Imperial Army encamped some Days near *Baranywar*; during which, a *Visier* who had been taken the preceeding Campaign, and belonged to General *Duneval*, was ransomed by the *Turks* for forty thousand Crowns in Specie, and about ten thousand in Skins and precious Stones.

The *Turks* sent an Aga and twelve or fifteen Saphis, with the Money; and whilst it was counting out, Marquiss *de Villars*, who was upon a very beautiful *Spanish* Horse, caracoll'd with this Aga, who was very well mounted, and sat a Horse admirably well. Their Manège concluded with Civilities; and the Aga taking particular notice of Marquiss *de Villars's* fine Pistols, the latter offered them him, which General *Duneval* disapproved, and would not suffer the Aga
to

to receive them, saying, that 'twas not proper for a Gentleman to present his Enemy with Arms. 1685.

In the mean time, the *Turks* had crossed the *Drave* or *Esseck* Bridge, a very magnificent piece of Work, which, fixed on a numberless Multitude of Piles, traversed the *Drave*, and all its Arms, with the several Morasses round it, from *Esseck*, as far as the main Land towards *Baranywar*. 'Twas so wide, that a Battalion could march over it in Front; and the *Turks* made use of it, in order to march their Armies towards *Buda*, *Alba-Regalis*, and all the Strong-holds higher up.

The Imperial Generals had been forced to send along the Banks of the Upper *Drave* to defend the Passage of it, all the Natives of the Country, viz. the *Hussars*, the *Crabats*, (*Croatians*) and other Light-Horse, all which, tho' the Imperialists did not much esteem them, yet whenever they joined with the *Turks*, it gave them an Air of so much Superiority, that their Cavalry would daily brave the Imperial Army; taking Prisoners a great Number of their Foragers, and obliging their Horse-Guard to keep so near the Army, that if they went but at ever so little a Distance from it, the *Turkish* Horse brought them back to it.

1685.

The fleetness of their Horses gave these *Hussars* and *Cravats*, &c. who were naturally brave, so great an Advantage over the Emperour's *Cuirassiers*, that these did not dare to move out of their Line.


But the wise Conduct of our Troops, and the Imprudence of the *Turks*, at last drew on the Battle; and the Grand Visier who had extended his Army in covered Grounds on this Side the *Drave*, contenting himself with straitning us, and taking a great Number of our Foragers, was at last forced, by the rash and mutinous Spirit of his Soldiers, to appear in the Plain before us.

The *Ottoman* Army was drawn up on the other Side of the *Esseck*, in Woods and Meadows which extend from the Head of *Esseck* Bridge to within half a League of the Foot of the Mountain of *Ersans*. Nothing was seen of their Army, but the Heads of some Troopers, who often appeared in the Plains reaching from the *Drave* towards *Siclos* and *Fief-Kirken* (*Quinque Ecclesiæ*,) and always took a great Number of Foragers on this Occasion. The Left of the Imperial Army extended to the Rivulet towards *Barany-war*, and their Right towards *Siclos*. The Duke of *Lorrain*, not having an Opportunity to charge the *Ottoman* Army, had

now nothing to do but to fall on *Erlaw*, ^{1685.}
 a small Fortrefs on the other Side the
Danube, between *Segedin* and *Newhausel*.

He was determin'd, before he march'd away, to draw out from *Siclos* and *Fief-Kirken*, the Garrisons which had been plac'd in those Towns, and afterwards raze them. For this purpose the Imperial Army was advancing, *August* the 11th, in the Plain of *Siclos*, when the *Turks*, who ought to have been greatly satisfi'd with their having defeated, during this Campaign, all the Projects and Efforts of their Enemies, forc'd the Grand Visier to leave the Woods in which he had post'd himself on this Side the *Drave*; where he was for ever under Covert; contenting himself with taking a great Number of Foragers, and straitning the *German* Army; and they not only oblig'd him to appear in the Plains before the Imperial Army, but even to attack them in their March.

Scarce had the Left Wing of this Army (extended on a Rivulet) drawn off from it and wheel'd to the Right, but great Bodies of *Spahis* were seen to rush out from the several hollow ways of the Woods. The Duke of *Lorrain* was at the Head of the Right Wing; and the

1685.  Elector of *Bavaria*, with Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, commanded the Left.

The Elector of *Bavaria* bid Marquiss *de Villars* fly with the utmost Speed on Mount *Ersans*, in order to discover the Motions of the *Turks*. He was scarce got half way, when he perceived all these various Corps of Spahis extend along the Plain, sustained by great Battallions of Janizaries, their Ordnance being drawn up on the Intervals; in a Word, all things disposed for Battle. The Right Wing of the *Turks* was even advancing to surround the Left Wing of the Imperialists. Seeing this, Marquiss *de Villars* flew as fast as possible, and told General *Picolomini*, (Commander of the second Line of the Horse) whom he met, to throw his Line as fast as possible into a Curve about the Mountain, in order to secure himself on that Side; and after this Counsel, which *Picolomini* followed immediately, he galloped to the Elector and the Prince of *Baden*, and told them, that they had but just time to draw up their Battalions and Squadrons, and were going to be attacked. All such Troops as were in a Column drew up in order of Battle. The Foot fixed their Chevaux de Frises; and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, followed by Marquiss *de Villars*, ran to the second Line of the Horse.

Horse. They found this Curve drawn up, 1685. and making Head against the *Turks*, who had already crossed the Rivulet, on which the Left Wing of the Imperial Army had spread at first; and who attempted, with a Body of seven or eight thousand Spahis, to take the Army behind, between the second Line and the Mountain. The Prince of *Baden* ordered all the Officers into the Squadrons; put himself at the Head of this Line, four or five Paces out of it, and would have Marquiss *de Villars* near him.

The *Turks* had scarce made some little Motion, as tho' they intended to draw near the Imperial Squadrons, but they halted. A Battalion of Janizaries posted themselves to the Left of their Horse on the Side of the Eminence; fired some Musket-balls; and this great Body, which had only a single Line of Horse to break through, in order to charge the Imperial Army behind, did not advance a Step forwarder.

The Uncertainty they were in, made the Prince of *Baden* resolve to advance a few Paces; and that instant, as tho' they had waited but for this first Motion to retire, the Spahis and Janizaries were seen to retreat again. The Imperialists advanced in proportion as the others drew back, and

1685. and the Left Wing of the former came again, by insensible Degrees, to the same Rivulet, where they had been posted the Morning; and the Army, after repulsing all who were got behind and extended beyond them, drew up in order of Battle, in a Right Line, before the *Turkish* Army.

We thought it would not be improper to describe these Motions, because they are seldom practised in our Wars; and as we are not used to see eight or ten thousand Horse gallop together as so many Foragers, and attempt to attack an Army behind; a Motion which, if vigorously executed, might be very successful; and the bare singularity of it would almost prove an Advantage. But to return to the Sequel of the Battle. All the Emperour's Army still advanced forward, whilst that of the *Turks* did nothing but retire.

'Twas scarce possible, as they retreated in this Manner, but they must soon be in Confusion; and indeed, the Spahis, without being charged, began to move, and abandon the Janizaries. 'Tis true, indeed, that some Bodies, in the Line, charged them with greater briskness; but that headed by the Prince of *Baden*, Prince *Eugene*, and Prince *Commerci*, Marquis de *Villars*

Villars and *Marquifs de Crequi*, and the 1685.
other Volunteers, did not move till the
Turkish Horfe began to fly. When, in a
Moment, they found themselves in the
midft of this prodigious Body of Janiza-
ries, *who fled without Terror*. 'Tis cer-
tain that, had there been one General a-
mong them, they might eafily have kept
their Ground in the Woods. In all pro-
bability, the Grand Vifier did not directly
intend to venture a Battle; for he had
begun, at the Head of the Woods, fome
Entrenchments, which were made only in
a Right Line; not to mention that the
Turks feemed to throw up the Ground be-
fore them, (as at the opening of a Trench,)
and that the Ditch was on their Side. The
Imperial Horfe foon forced thefe En-
trenchments, and flew moft of the Jani-
zaries, the meaneft of whom made a very
brave Defence. *Marfhal de Villars's* Buff-
coat was cut in two Places with a Sabre.
The Prince of *Commerci* was wounded
with a Lance, called by the *Turks* *Copi*.
Count *Sintzendorft* was killed, and *Ligue-
ville* wounded, with *Marquifs de Villars's*
Gentleman. Very few Officers loft their
Lives; and this Victory, the compleateft
that was wone by the Imperialifts in all
thefe Wars, fcarce coft them four or five
hundred Men,

General

1685. General *Duneval* was commanded to march with Diligence towards *Darda*, in order to cut off between *Esseck* Bridge and the main Body of the *Turkish* Army, but lost himself in the Woods.

Marquisses *de Villars* and *de Crequi*, and the Prince of *Courland* at the Head of only eight or ten Squadrons, pursued with some Vigour, all those *Turkish* Horse, who rode off as fast as the narrow Spot they then were in, would permit; however, they followed only so close, as might prevent this Body of Troops who were seized with a Pannic from looking behind, and observing the small Number who pursued them. They were the first who entered the Grand Visier's Tents. The Marquisses *de Villars* and *de Crequi*, having passed the Night in the Field of Battle, and returning in the Morning in order to eat a Bit, met the Duke of *Mantua*, on foot, who knowing them, enquired how Matters had gone.

The Booty taken on this occasion was surprisngly rich, the *Turks* having left a prodigious Quantity of Gold and Silver, as well as very splendid Arms and Tents; and perhaps it may not be improper to give a Description of those belonging to the Grand Visier, copied from a Letter of Marquis *de Villars*.

Before

Before the grand Avenue of these Tents, ^{1685.} was a kind of Alley of fifty Paces in length, formed on both Sides by two ranks of very fine Trunks, of which there was a vast Number, piled one upon the other with great Regularity. The Prisoners informed him that this was the Treasure of the Army. Besides Specie, these Trunks held a great Number of splendid Robes, which are given to those who have distinguished themselves in the Field, whether Janizaries or others. The greatest Number of the Grand Visier's Tents were surrounded with a double Inclosure; in the first, made of red Linnen about eight Foot high, and separated by green Columns made also of Linnen, were a great Number of very beautiful Tents, belonging to the Grand Visier's principal Officers.

Within another Inclosure, green Linnen, of the same Height with the first, and separated by Columns of red Cloth, were lodged the Tents designed for the Grand Visier himself. First, they saw the great Tent in which the Grand Visier gave Audience; the Front of which was like that of a Church, supported by eight large Pillars bending in the Middle; and the Brises were of gilt Brasses. These eight Pillars

1685. lars supported the projection of a Tent, which led to the great Tent of Audience, supported by a single Mast, as thick as that of a pretty large Ship. At the Entrance of the Tent there appeared, like two Trunks, with five or six Branches, on which the Grand Visier's Hawks and other sporting Birds were perched. It was separated by two large Curtains of gold and crimson Brocade, raised on the Sides. An Alcove, about six Yards square, and half a Foot high, covered with a Flame-coloured Cloth, was fixed against the thick Mast; near which, on this Alcove, was a gold and brocade Cushion, with two more of the same kind, at four Foot distance from it. Lastly, the Tent in which the Grand Visier lay, was supported by Pillars three Foot distance one from the other, within the Walls of the Tent, the Top of which was in the form of an Umbrello, and was not supported by a Mast. This Tent, and that where Audience was given, were lined within Side with very fine Embroidery. The Top was of gold and silver Tissue, pinked and embroidered in such a Manner, that from the uppermost Part there darted a Lustre, which lessened by degrees with the Embroidery, it being only of Silk.

Most of the *Turkish* Tents have what we call a *Marquises*, that is, a double Tent to keep out the Rain and Heat. Every Tent had been pitched that Morning, which shews that a prodigious Number of Slaves belonged to their Equipages. Marquise *de Villars* relates also in the same Letter, that nothing was out of its Place in their Camp; and that the Duke of *Lorraine* told him on this occasion, he had always observed in the Wars against the *Turks*, that after the winning a Battle their Camp was seen compleatly pitch'd, which is never found in the Wars among the Christians. And whereas in the Battles fought between Christians, the Generals are often followed by a certain Number of Persons who appear at the Head of the Army, and seem to give out Orders; among the *Turks*, no one appears without the Lines, so that 'tis impossible to distinguish a General Officer on these occasions; which Circumstance, as well as their whole Conduct, proves that they are totally ignorant of the Art of War.

The Prince of *Savoy* was sent to carry this great News to the Emperour, and to receive his Orders with regard to Projects very different from those which had been formed at first. The Imperialists, before the Battle, intended only to draw out the Garrison

1685. Garrisons from *Siclos* and *Fis-Kirken*; afterwards to raze those small Towns, and the several Posts possessed by them along the *Drave*; and they suffered the *Turks* to re-victual *Kanisa* and *Sigeth*, Towns of very great Importance.


But after winning the Battle they had very different Views. The Elector of *Bavaria*, in concert with the Prince of *Baden*, who earnestly desired to have the Armies disjoined, had Views quite opposite to those of the Duke of *Lorrain*. The former wanted to march a separate Army to besiege *Erlaw*; but as for the Duke of *Lorrain*, his Designs were still more just and extensive, for he did not doubt but that, after these Successes, it would be proper for the Imperialists to march into *Transylvania* in order to take *Esseck*; firmly persuaded, that *Erlaw*, as well as *Canisa* and *Sigeth*, would afterwards fall voluntarily into their Hands.

The Prince of *Baden*, the Duke of *Lorrain*'s profest Enemy, was of the same Opinion with Prince *Herman* his Uncle, President of the Council of War, who was accused by the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Party, of having occasioned the Miscarriage of the first Siege of *Buda*.

The Emperour left every thing to the Duke of *Lorrain*; and one might easily suppose,

suppose, that after winning of such a Battle, all the Glory of which was ascribed to the Elector, he would desire him to go and spend the remainder of the Campaign under the Shade of his Lawrels, and leave the little that remained to be done to the Duke of *Lorraine*; for in this manner the Emperour expressed himself, in his Letters to the Elector. He even declared, that Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* should command a smaller Army near the *Drave*. As Marquiss *de Villars* seemed to have no inconsiderable Ascendant over the Elector, the Duke of *Lorraine* desired him to dissuade him from forming the Siege of *Erlaw*. The Prince of *Baden* likewise whispered to him, the Disgust he entertained against the Duke of *Lorraine*, who did not spare him on any occasion; and who, charged with secret Orders, refused to give that Prince any separate Command; and even gave to General *Duneval*, who was not a Velt-Marshal, the Army which seemed to belong to the Prince of *Baden*, as he was invested with that Dignity. The Elector solicited very strongly, but to no purpose, the Duke of *Lorraine*, and left the Camp in order to return to *Vienna*, well enough satisfied, as he was going to enjoy his Glory in the midst of Pleasures; and more desirous of

gaining

1685.  gaining a Name, than careful of acquiring a profound Skill in the Arts of War.

Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* left the Army, without taking leave of the Duke of *Lorraine*, and took the Marquisses *de Villars* and *Crequi* into his Post-Calash with him ; after which the Duke of *Lorraine*, now sole Commander of the Army, set out in order to subdue *Transylvania*, and caused *Esseck* to be taken by General *Duneval*.

From the several Letters of Marquiss *de Villars*, such Memoirs may be drawn relating to the *Turkish* Wars, as well as the various Characters of the General Officers of the Emperour's Army, as are highly worthy the Attention of the Public.

Marquiss *de Villars* arrived at *Vienna* with the Prince of *Baden* ; and in his first Audience of his Imperial Majesty, this Prince was pleased to tell him, that his Generals had informed him of his Ardour, his Zeal, and the Service he had done him.

Count *de Stratman*, who was, strictly speaking, the Emperour's Prime Minister, because of the great Trust that Prince reposed in him, tho' he had not the Title, was a Man of profound Sense ; and had been brought up in the Court of the Elector *Palatine*, formerly Duke of *Newburg*, Father of the Empress *Eleonora*. This Princess, whose Credit was very great,

great, had fixed him near the Emperour's 1685.
Person. Marquifs *de Villars* had got ac-
quainted with him at *Berlin*, in a Journey
of his to that City in his younger Years;
and we have mentioned the fruitless At-
tempts made by this Minister, to attach,
and, as it were, win him over to the In-
terest of the Emperour his Sovereign. At
the return of the Campaign in *Hungary*,
as the Gentlemen were drinking, in an
Entertainment he gave at his House, the
Healts of the Emperour's Generals and
Ministers of State, he toasted, with a loud
Voice, that of Marquifs *de Villars*, in the
following Words: "A Health to the
" Emperour's Generals, to his worthy
" Ministers, and to Marquifs *de Villars*,
" who having neither of these Characters,
" has yet served him very advantageously,
" both with Head and Hand, in the last
" Campaign. This the Emperour knows;
" he is obliged to you upon that Ac-
" count, and commanded me to give this
" public Testimony of it."

The Elector left *Vienna* very soon, on
which occasion he assured Marquifs *de Vil-*
lars, that as he designed to enter into the
strictest Engagements with his *Gallic* Ma-
jesty, he, for that very Reason, had short-
ned his stay at *Vienna*, to avoid the urgent
Sollicitations of the Emperour, who was
very

1685. very urgent with him to renew their Alliance. Marquifs *de Villars* received Orders in *Vienna*, to follow the Elector, and assume the Character of the *French* Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of that Prince. The Emperour's Envoy was Count *Thaun*, Brother to the Archbishop of *Saltzburg*, one of the most powerful Princes of the Empire.

The Elector continued to treat Marquifs *de Villars* with great Distinction, and did all he could to divert him; desiring his Company in every party of Pleasure, and at all the private Feasts he gave the Ladies. This Prince, fond of Diversions of every kind, delighted in Music and Hunting. He was extremely polite, skilled in all sorts of Exercises, so that every Day was spent in Carousals, Operas, and Plays acted by the Ladies of his Court, *Italian* Comedies, and Sledge-Races during the Winter.

He was struck with the Charms of one of the Electress's Maids of Honour, *Mademoiselle de Zintzendorff* by Name, a Lady of exquisite Beauty and no great Sense, but so virtuous as not to grant the last Favours, which piqued the Elector, and enflamed him the more. However, this Engagement did not exclude some transient Amours, more strong, tho' less affecting,

fecting, with the Camararas or Waiting-^{1685.}
 Women of the Court. Marquifs *de Vil-*
lars from a natural Inclination, as well
 as his Desire to serve the King, still
 maintained the strictest Intimacy possible
 with the Elector, and had the Art of
 making even their parties of Pleasure sub-
 servient to his Negotiations. He there-
 fore shared in every Divertisement, and
 passed his Days very agreeably.


The Court of *Vienna*, informed of the
 Progress he made, and the little Credit
 Count *de Thaur* had in comparison of that
 of Marquifs *de Villars*, sent to *Munich*
 Count *de Kaunits*, a Nobleman possessed
 of very great Abilities, and who was af-
 terwards one of the Emperour's first Mi-
 nisters. As he had formerly lived in the
 utmost Familiarity with the Elector, he
 was invited to every grand Supper. At
 one of these this Prince, vexed by some
 Letters he had received from his Minister
 at *Rome*, spoke in Terms, not altogether
 so respectful, of the Pope, who instead of
 granting a small Favour he had requested,
 had ordered his Minister to write to him
 about his Amours which so exasperated
 the Electress; and to mention the prodig-
 ious Sums he squandered in his Pleasures,
 and all this by way of Reprimand in his
 (the Pope's) Name: Upon which the E-
 Glector

1685. *lector said, What Business has his Holiness with this? He offers Cardinals Hats to the Duke of Lorrain's Children, and takes it into his Head to reproach me with my Conduct, at the same time that I serve, with my Person as well as my Purse, the Church and the Empire against the Turks. Count de Kaunits replied, that in case he desired it, his Holiness would also offer a Cardinal's Hat to his Brother; but that, as he was to be Elector of Colen, he would be above that Dignity. Marquiss de Villars, desirous of making the Elector a little Angry with Count Kaunits, spoke, and said, That it was injurious to the Elector to suppose that he could desire that for no one but Prince Clement his Brother, and that there were not some Friends and Servants of his, on whom he would wish to bestow it; that the Emperour had lately procured this Honour for the Chevalier de Walestein, Captain of his Guards; and that since the Pope offered it to the Duke of Lorrain, 'twas but just he should make the same to the Elector, and leave to him the Nomination of the Person. Count de Kauntis, in order not to direct himself to the Elector who began to grow warm, and whose Repartees were now mixed with some little Anger, said to Marquiss de Villars, On whom then, Sir, would you have*

have his Electoral Highness bestow this Car- 1685.
dinal's Hat? On me, replied Marquifs de
Villars, who would do him all the Service
possible, in the sacred College: The Elector
growing still warmer, Count de Kaunits
turned to Marquifs de Villars, and said to
him with a Smile, *You see, Sir, the lengths*
to which your Ambition of being a Cardinal
has carried Things. Marquifs de Villars
smiling also, replied, *First make me a Car-*
dinal, and then all Matters shall be com-
posed.

In the mean time, he still pursued his
Design, of shortning as much as possible,
Count Kaunits's stay at the Emperour's
Court; and succeeded so well, that in a
Fortnight that Minister was obliged to
return to *Vienna*, where he declared, that
'twas highly probable the Elector was de-
sirous of reviving the Intimacy which had
formerly been between his House and the
Court of *France*, and that Marquifs de
Villars was very industrious in promoting
it.

Marquifs de Villars was also charged
with two other Negotiations; the one
was the Marriage of the Princess of *Ba-*
varia with the Prince, eldest Son to the
great Duke of *Tuscany*, an Alliance that
was crossed by the Offer of the King of
Hungary, which latter Match was so
greatly

1685.  greatly advantageous in comparison of the former, that it was no very easy Task to make it succeed in prejudice to the other ; and nevertheless Marquiss *de Villars* was able to do this, as we shall show afterwards.

The second Negotiation related to the Designs of Cardinal *de Furstemberg* on the Electorate of *Colen* ; and the Business was, to obtain the Consent of the Elector of *Bavaria*, who desired to have his Brother, Prince *Clement*, raised to that Electorate. His Majesty was not yet bound by any Treaty with the Elector, but was engaged with Cardinal *de Furstemberg*, who wanted to be elected Coadjutor, but was not yet sure of the Voices ; two Thirds of which must pronounce in his Favour, and he himself be first qualified to succeed to that Dignity.

Marquiss *de Villars* employed the best Arguments he could think of, in order to win over the Elector, but the best were found weak. All he therefore had to do was, to tell Cardinal *de Furstemberg*, who was sure of the *French* Interest, that he had no other Business than to secure the Number of Voices necessary for his Election : Accordingly the Cardinal having secured the Chapter, was elected Coadjutor canonically.

The

The Elector of *Colen* dying a few 1685.
Months after, as Cardinal *de Furstemberg* was Coadjutor, it was natural for him to succeed to the Electorate; but the Pope being no ways favourable to the Desires of his *Gallic* Majesty, refused a Brief to this Cardinal, who thought he might safely hazard a second Election, notwithstanding the Advice of Marquiss *de Villars*, who was assured by Persons of Credit, that several of the Canons who had given him their Voices for the Coadjutorship, being dissatisfied with the Countess of *Furstemberg* for having broke the Promises she had made them, would certainly draw off from the Cardinal's Interest, in case he proceeded to a new Election: And accordingly, several of those on whom he depended most, abandoned him, and Prince *Clement* was elected.

In the mean time, all Things preparatory to the Elector's Re-union with the King still advanced very happily. The Elector writ several Letters, with his own Hand, to his Majesty, promising to engage himself to him by a Treaty; and in the Diet of *Ratisbon*, he took all the Steps that could be of Advantage to his Majesty.

Marquiss *de Villars* engaged the Elector to admit into his secret Confidence

1685. Chancellor *Schmit*, who had been discarded by the Ministers of the House of *Austria*. This Prince used frequently to transact Affairs with him in the Night; and Marquiss *de Villars* never met him but at those Hours, so that few Measures were taken but such as were agreeable to his Majesty.


The Court of *Vienna* sent to *Munich* the old Countess of *Paar*, a Lady of great Wit, excellently well qualified for Intrigues of State, and who formerly had a great share in the Elector's Confidence. She had heard of the Elector's Amour, which was not very long lived, with Mademoiselle *de Welen*, who was still concealed in the Palace, and afterwards left it as secretly as she was brought in. This Countess married her to a Gentleman of *Bohemia*, upon the Terms of an hundred thousand Crowns in Specie, which the Elector gave, and that Sum was equally divided between the old Lady, the Mistress, and the Husband; so that there now remained but Mademoiselle *de Zintzendorff*, and some other Cameraras already mentioned, who were in no great Esteem.

1686. The Winter was now spent, a Peace was not concluded with the *Turks*, and the Court of *Vienna* revived their secret Intrigues, to engage the Elector to return
into

into *Hungary*. However, he refused publicly to go and said, that he had already made so many Campaigns, that he could not go again into the Field, unless the chief Command of the Army were given him; and even added, (by the Advice of Marquis *de Villars*, who purposely threw in a Condition he knew would scarcely be complied with) not without the Duke of *Lorraine* should not march on that occasion. Now, 'twas not probable that the Emperour would deprive himself of the Services of so rever'd a General, who had been so successful, and was his Brother-in-law.

Prince *Herman* of *Baden*, and Prince *Lewis* his Nephew, enforced the Elector's Request; nevertheless, their Cabal at the Court of *Vienna* was destroyed by that of the Duke of *Lorraine*; and in the very Beginning of Winter, in order to keep *Herman* at a Distance, he was sent to the Diet of *Ratisbon*, in Quality of the Emperour's chief Commissioner. *Carafa*, who Commanded in *Transylvania* and Upper *Hungary*, raised a Sett of secret Accusers against him; who managed Matters so artfully, as even to raise some Suspensions of his Fidelity.

Nevertheless, the Court of *Vienna*, justly apprehensive of the Measures which the

1686.  Elector might take with Marquiss de Villars, offered him the most considerable Advantages, in order to preserve him in their Interest. They offered him, jointly with the King of *Spain*, the supreme Power over *Flanders*, as the Dower of the Electress his Consort, presumptive Heiress to the Monarchy of *Spain*; and engaged to put him in actual Possession of it. Marquiss de Villars, informed of these Offers by the Elector himself, endeavoured to make him consider them as fatal; and to persuade him, that since the whole Monarchy of *Spain* was not able to secure *Flanders* from the smallest Invasion of the King's Armies, 'twould he in vain for all his Forces united to attempt it; and that he would be obliged to leave his Provinces to the Mercy of the Emperour, who, after having almost ruined him by the Wars of *Hungary*, would be glad to see him involved still farther, merely to defend Countries which are no ways able to defend themselves.

To this the Elector answered; *but his Gallic Majesty does not offer me any Thing present or real. Hitherto, replied Marquiss de Villars, you have required nothing of the King, but to support you in your just pretensions on Ausburg, Ratisbon, Nuremberg, and other States in the Circle of Suabia;*
and

and he has promised to do this, whenever you shall find a proper Season to assert your Rights. With regard to the States of the Monarchy of Spain, his Majesty is not able, at present, to put you in Possession of any of them. 1686.

In the mean time, Marquiss *de Villars* writ to his Majesty, who ordered him to assure the Elector, that in case of the King of *Spain's* Demise, himself and the Dauphin would engage to resign up to him the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*. The Elector required some farther Explanations on this Head, and desired to know, whether the Engagement would be void, in case he should have no Children by the Electress, which there was just Reason to apprehend, as well upon account of the sickly Constitution of that Princess, as by the little Correspondence he had with her. The King consented to this, and by that means the Elector's Engagements grew stronger than before.

The Marriage of the Princess of *Bavaria* with the eldest Son of the Great Duke, was traversed, as we before observed, by the Offer of the King of *Hungary*, the greatest Match in *Europe*. However, Marquiss *de Villars*, who was in great Favour with a very beautiful Lad, for whom the Princess of *Bavaria* had the

1686. Esteem, prevailed with this Princess to declare, that she was determined not to marry the King of *Hungary*.

The Great Duke had sent Auditor *Sinetty*, one of his first Ministers, and Father *Benfaty* his intimate Confident, to treat about this Marriage. They, above all, were ordered, to square their Conduct as Marquiss *de Villars* should direct. The Monk was a Man of Wit, but vain-glorious and impudent; and upon some Disputes between him and the Auditor, who was the Proxy, he told him, that he should be sent to the Gallies at his return to *Florence*. At last, the several Conditions of this Marriage were fulfilled, and Marquiss *de Corsini*, one of the chief Noblemen of *Florence*, and a Relation of the Great Duke, was nominated Embassador Extraordinary for the Nuptials, which being solemnized, the Princess left *Tuscany*.

The Elector's refusing the Princess of *Bavaria* to the King of *Hungary*, plainly showed that he was determined to break off from the House of *Austria*. 'Twas to no purpose for him to plead, by way of Excuse, the Disinclination the Princess his Sister had to this Marriage; so slender an Obstacle as this, especially in the Marriage of Sovereigns, was looked upon by

by the Court of *Vienna* as a mere Pre-1686.
 tence. They did not doubt but that the
 Elector was upon the Point of detaching
 himself from their Interest, which prompt-
 ed them to make one last Effort to draw
 this Prince out of *Munich*. Count *de*
Kaunits had already made five Journies
 thither; either to offer some advantage-
 ous Proposals to the Elector, in the Name
 of the Emperour and of the King of
Spain; to prevent the Marriage of the
 Princess with the Great Duke's eldest
 Son; to be present at the various Elec-
 tions which were going forward in *Colen*;
 or, in fine, to engage the Elector to make
 the Campaign of *Hungary*. Marquiss *de*
Villars had had the good Fortune to
 break all the Measures of Count *Kaunits*,
 and to cross all his Designs; so that, at
 last, the Emperour thought it would be
 absolutely necessary for him to send Count
de Stratman thither.

The Day after his Arrival at *Munich*,
 he dined with Marquiss *de Villars*, on
 which occasion he said to him; “ ’Tis
 “ not now time to offer you any Friend-
 “ ship or Favour in the Emperour’s
 “ Name, and indeed, I can now assure
 “ you of nothing but his Esteem. You
 “ are sensible of the high Regard I have
 “ for you; however, this will not pre-

1686. “ vent my declaring, that tho’ the Em-
 “ perour was extremely well satisfied
 “ with your Services in *Hungary*; never-
 “ theless, in case ’tis in his Power, and I
 “ succeed, we shall not see you in it this
 “ Campaign, if the Elector thinks pro-
 “ per to make it.”


Marquiss *de Villars* imagined he raised such an Obstacle to this as was insurmountable, by the Conditions he had obliged the Elector to demand. But the Imperial Court granted them all, and accordingly the Armies were assembled under the Command of the Elector of *Bavaria*, with the several Preparations necessary for forming the Siege of *Belgrade*. On this occasion the Elector said to Marquiss *de Villars*; “ It would not only be
 “ dishonourable in me to refuse such a
 “ Post, but would be almost a Declara-
 “ tion of War against the Emperour,
 “ and you are sensible that I am not at
 “ present in a Condition to break with
 “ him. More time will be required for
 “ me to do this; but I am going to as-
 “ sure the King, in Writing, that I am
 “ as strongly attached to him as ever.”

About this time Mr. *de Louvois*, probably grown weary of hating Marquiss *de Villars*, whose only Crime was his being related to a Family which Mr. *de Lou-*
vois

vois no ways esteemed; or perhaps, for ^{1686.} we may presume this of a great Man, that Minister's Esteem being raised to Sentiments of Friendship, he was thereby prompted to write a very polite Letter to Marquiss *de Villars*, who answered it in cold, but at the same time, respectful Terms. Mr. *de Louvois* wrote him a second Letter, by which he desired to be informed, what kind of Instrument the Chevaux de Frize were, used by the Imperial Foot instead of Pikes, which they had now laid aside. He proceeded so far as to a fourth Letter, which consisted but of three Lines; "I cannot comprehend, says Mr. *de Louvois*, how we happened to be at Variance. I desire it may cease; make some trial of my Friendship, and be assured that you shall find me, your Servant." Marquiss *de Villars* answered him, that he was equally surprized and affected with his last Letter; and so much the more persuaded that his Offer was sincere, as it was the first Time he had given him an Opportunity to flatter himself with such Hopes; that, in consequence of this, he desired he would assist him with his Interest; that the only way for him to recover, in the Army, the Rank he would presume to say he had merited by his Services,

1686. vices, was, to obtain for him, from his Majesty, the Post of Commissary-General of Horse, whereby he would be raised above several other Persons, who ought not to have passed before him; but that to show Mr. *de Louvois*, that he would owe this entirely to him, he would not make one single Step, besides that he had now taken, nor mention it to any other Person. This Minister, to satisfy himself whether Marquiss *de Villars* had not writ about it to his Family, founded Marquiss *de Villar's* Father and Marshal *de Bellefonds* on this Affair, but finding neither of them had heard any thing of it, he immediately used his Endeavours to procure him that Employment, as will be seen hereafter. Let us now return to what was transacting in *Bavaria*.

Count *de Stratman* was very urgent with the Elector to make the Campaign of *Hungary*, which the Marquiss did not think it proper for him to oppose. He even advised him to go, but upon Condition that he were in such a Station as suited his Dignity; adding, that his *Gallic* Majesty never desired that any Counsel should be given him, but such as might add to his Glory; and lastly, that his Majesty did not doubt but that his Electoral Highness was so true a Judge of his own

Interest, as to desire sincerely the strictest Alliance with *France*. 1686. 

Various Reports being spread concerning the Duke of *Lorraine's* ill State of Health, the Elector sent an Express purposely to know the Truth of it. Marquiss *de Villars* told him, that he ought not to trust these flying Rumours; that 'twould be given out the Duke of *Lorraine* was dying, till such time as the Elector should be got to the Army; that the Duke would that Moment set out Post for it; and that the Elector would then find himself upon no other Foot than he had been all the preceeding Campaigns, viz. with the Appearance of a Command, but in reality a Subaltern. However, Count *de Stratman*, to remove all Suspicions, assured the Elector, that tho' the Duke should recover, and be able to make the Campaign, he yet would not approach the Field, and that the Elector should be Generalissimo.

'Twas now impossible for this Prince to refuse so illustrious and important a Command. The Glory of forming the Siege of *Belgrade*, and of putting an End to the War by so noble a Conquest, soothed his Ambition too much for him to refuse it. Accordingly he consented to take the Field; but the next Day,
Count

1686. Count *Stratman*, (in his second Audience) after representing to the Elector the great Confidence his Imperial Majesty reposed in him, by resigning the Care of himself and of the Empire into his Hands, observed, that the Emperour would never allow him to keep a *French* Minister at his Court; that the disregard the Elector showed for a Father-in-law, who had always loved him with the most tender Affection, could be inspired by none but the Enemies to the House of *Austria*; in fine, that he could not but be sensible, that it would be impossible for him to keep, in the Imperial Armies, *Marquiss de Villars*, whose great Credit with him could not but interfere with the Interest of the Emperour, who would soon desire him to quit his Dominions. “ ’Tis nevertheless, “ replied the Elector, to this very Mar- “ quiss that we partly owe, not only our “ Resolution to fight this Battle, the Suc- “ cess of which was so glorious and im- “ portant, but are likewise obliged to “ him, in the Action it self, for advising “ several very useful Evolutions. I own “ all this, *replied Count Stratman*, and I “ my self was ordered, at his return to “ *Vienna*, to thank him for it in the Em- “ perour’s Name; but Affairs are quite “ changed since that time.”

At last the Elector set out for the Campaign. Marquiss *de Villars* followed him to *Passaw*, where this Prince desired him to wait, saying, that he would employ all his Interest with the Emperour to obtain his Leave, that the Marquiss might accompany him, but that in case he could not succeed, he then would send him Advice of it by a Courier. There was little or no Probability of his succeeding, and accordingly, the Courier arriving, Marquiss *de Villars* embraced the Opportunity which the King gave him of returning to *France*, and residing there during the Campaign of *Hungary*, in case he should not be permitted to make it. He passed by *Ratisbon*, where he saw Prince *Herman* of *Baden*, who, tho' invested with the Title of the Emperour's chief Commissioner, was in reality disgraced. This Prince seemed quite oppressed by the ill Offices which were daily done him at *Vienna*, and firmly resolved to quit the Service; and, indeed, he did not long survive this ill Treatment.

Marquiss *de Villars* arriving at Court, was received very graciously by the King, who was pleased to say, that he had always known him to be a brave Man, but did not think him so well skilled in Matters of Negotiation.

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1687. He also met with the most obliging Reception from Madam *de Maintenon*; and the very Day he arrived, she took him to a Play which was performed at St. Cyr, before the King, on which occasion very few Persons were admitted.

At that time, 'twas a very great Favour for any Person to be allowed to attend upon his Majesty in his Journey to *Marli*. The King used, at first, to take but very little Company with him, so that Marquiss *de Villars* had not yet presumed to request that Honour. 'Twas a Custom, that all who desired it, should ask; not excepting the Great Officers of the Household, and those whose Employments could scarce allow them to be absent on that occasion. *Bontemps*, first Valet-de-Chambre to his Majesty, and who had a very great Share in his Confidence, came up to Marquiss *de Villars* in the Gallery of *Versailles*, and cried, *So! you've requested to go to Marli*. Marquiss *de Villars* declaring, that he was far from presuming to take this Liberty; says *Bontemps*, I say you have requested it. *Since you assure me that I have*, answered Marquiss *de Villars*, (who found by the Air and Tone of *Bontemps*, that the King designed to grant him that Honour) *I have requested*. *Bontemps* returned immediately into

into his Majesty's Apartment, a Moment ^{1687.} after which the List was brought out, and Marquifs *de Villars* named in it.

Ever since the Time Mr. *de Louvois* had been reconciled to him, this Minister had endeavoured, but with the utmost Secrecy, to obtain for him the Post of Commissary-General of the Horse. The Name of the Regiment of Horse which had belonged to Marquifs *de Villars*, was changed to that of *Anjou*, and on which occasion it was purchased, by Marquifs *de Blanche-fort*, for ninety thousand Livres. The Post of Commissary-General of the Horse being taxed at fifty thousand Crowns, was given to Marquifs *de Villars*.

A few Days after, the whole Court was quite taken up with two considerable Advices. The first was, the Design of the Prince of *Orange* upon *Great-Britain*, which, tho' carried on with the greatest Art and Secrecy, was nevertheless discovered by some of the King's Ministers in Foreign Courts. *Barillon*, our Ambassador in *England*, was imposed upon on this Occasion, as well as King *James* himself, which indeed that unhappy Prince was in all Things. But Count *d' Avaux*, Ambassador at the *Hague*, had better Intelligence.

1687.

The other Piece of News was, an Embassy from the Grand Signior to conclude a Peace with the Emperour. The Embassador arrived at *Belgrade*, the Day after that this Bulwark of the *Turks* against the Christians had been stormed. *Mauro Cordato*, one of the ablest Ministers in the *Ottoman* Court, was at the Head of the Embassy. He was brought into the City thro' the Breach, still covered with the Bodies of the Janizaries, who had defended it valiantly; for the *Turks*, entirely ignorant in the Science of War, defended their Strong-holds merely by their Bravery. They never valued the Covert-ways, nor all those Outworks that have furnished our Engineers with an Art, which, in return, seems among us, to undertake alone the Defence of Strong-holds; so far, that Courage seems sometimes to have sunk on this Occasion, and some of our Governours have not blushed to lay it down as a Maxim, that when once the Covert-way is taken, the Besieged have no more to do but to surrender themselves Prisoners of War. The *Turks*, in the Beginning of these Wars, trusted wholly in the Rampart; and defended it, Sabre in Hand, and with Stones, to the last Extremity; annoying dreadfully the

Besiegers

Besiegers with Gun - powder - bags and Granades. 1687.

'Twas thus they sustained several Assaults at the two Sieges of *Buda*; that they raised the first, and perhaps would have been as successful in the second, had not the Visier who commanded it been killed in the Breach. The Court was therefore very dubious what Course to take, whether to support King *James* who was upon the Point of being invaded, or to prevent the Peace now going to be concluded with the *Turks*, which would immediately draw down upon us the whole Force of the Emperour and the Empire.

Mr. *de Louvois*, a little after his Return from *Forges*, where he had been to drink the Waters, declared for the latter. And indeed, nothing could be of greater Importance to us, than to procure so considerable a Diversion as that of the Grand Signior; and besides, what Probability was there, that so mighty a Revolution could be brought about in *England* without the greatest Troubles and Divisions, which was of much greater Advantage to the *French* Interest, than a peaceable Government, even under King *James*: especially, as the *English* when calm and undisturbed under *Charles II*, who adhered strongly to *France*, forced that Prince to declare

1687. declare War against us. The Siege of *Philipsburg* was therefore resolved upon; and Preparations were made to carry on a vigorous War in the Empire. We therefore sent light Vessels to *Constantinople*, to inform the Port of our Resolution; the utmost Endeavours were used to acquaint *Mauro Cordato* with it; in fine, we succeeded so far, that the Peace which was upon the Point of being concluded, was broke; the *Turkish* War was carried on eleven Years, which was longer than that sustained against the Emperour.

General *Montclar*, who commanded in *Alsatia*, was ordered to march in the Empire, and to send out Detachments as far into it as possible. His Majesty intrusted *Marquiss de Villars* with the Design he had, to cause the Dauphin to besiege *Philipsburgh*, and to possess himself of all the Strong-holds of the Upper *Rhine* from *Basil* to *Mentz*. At the same time, his Majesty commanded him to go to *Munich*, to continue the Negotiation begun with the Elector, who had promised to renew the strict Engagements which the Prince his Father had entered in with *France*. As *Marquiss de Villars* could not now take the common Road, he was obliged to pass by *Italy*, and to disguise himself as soon as he left the Frontiers of *France*.

France. He met with great Difficulties 1688. in his Journey thro' *Italy* and *Germany*; and was stopt three Hours, in the Night, in *Inspruck*, where the Duke of *Lorrain* was at that Time; the Marquiss being fully determined to go on alone, in case his Domesticks should be seized. He came out of the Post-House, leading his Horse by the Bridle, whilst a *German* Servant, who passed for the Master, was quarrelling with Persons who pretended to stop him. In fine, at Two in the Morning, his Servants came up with him, at the last House of the Suburbs, where he had agreed to wait for them; and after riding from *Borgesorte*, on the *Po*, to the first Village in *Bavaria*, without once stopping except to take a little Refreshment, he arrived at *Munich*.

Marquiss *de Villars* expected to find very great Changes in the Elector's Mind as well as in his Court. This Prince had been during five Months, either at the Head of the Armies of the Emperour or of the Empire, or residing in *Vienna*. He had enjoyed the supreme Command of the Army appointed to besiege *Belgrade*, notwithstanding 'tis certain, that the Duke of *Lorrain*, tho' he did not lie in the Camp, as had been agreed, was not above five or six Leagues from it. His great Attach-

1688. Attachment to the Emperour's Interest, had prompted him to consent to every Thing that might please the Elector. Thus, this Prince owed the Glory of the Conquest of *Belgrade*, to the Emperour's having made choice of him. These were the strongest Motives of Gratitude and Re-union. Moreover, Prince *Clement* his Brother, had been chosen Elector of *Colen*, in spite of all the Intrigues of Cardinal *de Furstemberg*, tho' possessed of *Bonn*, and protected by his Majesty.

But on the other Side, the King's Armies were in the midst of the Empire, and the Elector's Forces were in *Hungary*, in the midst of those of the Emperour. The Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, and the Dukes of *Hanover* and *Wirtemberg* had just agreed by Treaty, to quarter in *Franconia* and *Suabia*, and to surround the Elector's Dominions. Thus the Elector saw himself obliged to declare one way or other, without having had the least Time to prepare for it. Perplexed with the various Fears which the Dilemma he was in must raise in his Mind, he said to *Marquiss de Villars*, *I continue in the same Dispositions with regard to the King as I assured him when you left me ; but how will it be possible for me to follow them ? His Majesty offends me directly, in the Person of my Brother,*

ther, who was recognized Elector by the 1688.
 Pope, by the Emperour and the Empire. He
 invades all the Dominions of the Empire, and
 I am an Elector.

Marquiss de Villars answered, 'Tis indeed true that the King makes War, but then he does it in no other view than to secure Peace, since 'tis on that Condition he offers to restore all his Conquests; after which, his Majesty will leave the Emperour at full Liberty to continue a War, which may give him the Possession of all the Turkish Dominions in Europe. Be you the Mediator of this Peace, save the Empire; and add to the Glory you have lately atchieved against the Ottoman Empire, that of having given Peace to Europe.

Notwithstanding these Reasons the Elector was still wavering. His Dominions being hemmed in by those of the Princes who were united against France, would not permit him to run any hazard, when Advice was brought him of the taking of Philipsburg, and that our Army was advancing towards the Danube. He now was seized with another kind of Fear, and even said to Marquiss de Villars; Had I my Troops, and we could join them to yours, we then might perhaps strike a Fear in those who make us afraid. Upon this, Marquiss de Villars was very urgent with the King

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to

1688. to order his Forces to march towards *Ulm*, during which he did all that lay in his Power to keep up the Elector's Uncertainty, and to prevent him, as long as possible, from declaring. He even did more, for on a Report being spread at *Munich*, that the King's Army was approaching near *Ulm*, the Elector being moved, said to Marquiss *de Villars*, *Were my Forces not in Hungary where the Emperour still detains them, we would possess our selves of Suabia, and would easily get the better of those of Saxony, of Brandenburg, and of the Circles.*

Marquiss *de Villars*, knowing that this last Reflection arose from the Apprehensions he was under from the King's Army, in like manner as that of the Emperour had before raised his Fears, dispatched a Courier to his Majesty, in order that the March of the Troops towards *Ulm* might be fixed. However, the *French* had, by this time, resolved to possess themselves of the *Rhine*; and the Dauphin had seized upon *Manheim*, *Frakendal*, *Wormes*, *Spires*, *Mentz*, and of all the little Strong-holds on this Side of that River. By this means, as the Elector was now secure on that Side, and consequently not afraid of the *French* Arms, he joined with the Emperour; and the *Bavarian* Forces returned towards

towards *Donawert*, at the very time that 1688. Marquifs *de Feuquieres*, at the Head of seven or eight hundred Horse, spread the utmost Terror throughout all *Franconia*, and sent Detachments to the very Gates of *Nuremburg*.

The Elector, solicited very strongly by Count *de Kaunits*, commanded his Troops to intercept, if possible, those of Marquifs *de Feuquieres*; and thinking to surprize Marquifs *de Villars*, and make him uneasy, he informed him of it a few Hours after; pleading in excuse, the Complaints and Murmurs of the *Germans*, to see seven or eight hundred Horse laying the whole Empire under Contribution, at the same time that three thousand *Bavarians* suffered them to go unmolested. But Marquifs *de Villars*, without discovering the least Emotion, answered the Elector with a Smile, *The Imperialists are not very Sollicitous about your Cavalry: All they desire is, that you would declare your self. Nor am I, says the Elector, apprehensive that eight hundred Horse can do any great Hurt to my Cavalry. But have not those Gentlemen*, replied Marquifs *de Villars* with a resolute Tone of Voice, *spoke to you of three thousand of his Majesty's Troops, and of a Detachment of Granadiers, three Leagues behind them? Can you believe, Sir,*

1688. *that our Generals are so injudicious as to send eight hundred Horse into the Heart of a Country, without ordering them to be sustained by four times as many? This is the very Thing I observed to Count Kaunits, replied the Elector immediately. Count Kaunits, replied Marquifs de Villars, does not value your three thousand Horse: All he desires, is, for you yourself to declare. These Answers of Marquifs de Villars, which he had made at Random, and without having the least Advice of Marquifs de Feuquiere's being sustained, as he really was not, produced the Effect he expected from it; a Counter-order was sent to the Bavarian Troops, which saved those of his Majesty, and retarded the Elector's Declaration, for which the Imperialists were very urgent.*

Marquifs de Villars desired, by Letter, *Feuquieres* and *Baron de Monclar* who commanded the King's Forces in *Wirtemberg*, to act with greater Caution for the future, since that he, very probably, would not have it again in his Power to keep back the *Bavarians*; that he had once over-reached them, but did not believe he should ever have an Opportunity of doing it a second Time.

Nevertheless, the Elector, tho' engaged with the Emperour, was very unwilling to break entirely with his Majesty; and
Prince

Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* was obliged to go ^{1683.} in Person to *Munich*; and this Prince did not scruple to confess to *Marquiss de Villars*, that the only Motive of his coming thither, was in order to oblige him to leave it. The very Day of his Arrival, a Festival was celebrated at *Schleisssem*, on which occasion there was a Sledge-Race. *Marquiss de Villars* was used to partake in all these Diversions, but he was not invited to this; and at the Elector's return from it, he seemed in some little Confusion. The next Day, *Mr. Ledel*, one of his chief Ministers, came to *Marquiss de Villars*, and said to him, that as the *French* carried Fire and Sword into all Parts of the Empire, 'twas not in the Power of an Elector to forbear opposing it any longer; nor even to suffer a Minister of *France* to reside at his Court, for which Reason the Elector requested him to withdraw, and that in three Days. *You rather are sent*, replied *Marquiss de Villars*, *in the Name of the Prince of Baden, and of the Emperour's Ministers, to whom you have always been devoted, than in that of your Sovereign. I will do my self the Honour to wait upon him; and can scarce believe, that he will acknowledge your Commission.* Hitherto the Ministers of *Bavaria*, upon account of the Friendship their Sovereign

1688. discovered for Marquiss *de Villars*, had
 ~~~~~ treated him with the utmost Respect ;  
 and the Minister in question trembled as  
 he spoke to him. He returned to the E-  
 lector with all imaginable Dispatch, and  
 nevertheless the Marquiss got thither before  
 him.


The Elector, surprized to see him, and  
 being afraid he would enter upon Topicks  
 no ways agreeable to him, withdrew im-  
 mediately into a little Cabinet ; however,  
*Marquiss de Villars* followed, shut the  
 Door after him, and continued alone with  
 the Elector.

This Prince scarce knew what to say,  
 for there is a sort of Timidity which has  
 nothing do do with Courage, and is able  
 to baffle the most exalted Valour. *Mar-*  
*quiss de Villars* observing this, said to him;  
*So, Sir ; I find your Highness is now en-*  
*tirely subdued by the Imperialists, and bound*  
*more strongly than ever in Chains, which*  
*you often have done me the Honour to declare*  
*were very weighty. The Elector, your Fa-*  
*ther, had left you fifteen or sixteen Millions*  
*in Specie ; and you owe very near that Sum ;*  
*but the Emperour will put you in a way to*  
*pay off all your Debts. 'Twould be to no*  
*purpose to recapitulate the several Advan-*  
*tages which your Highness confessed must neces-*  
*sarily accrue to you, and which had prompted*  
 you

you to give in Writing to his Majesty and the Dauphiness, the most positive Assurances that you would never abandon his Interest. I never desired you to declare against the Emperour; but as a Neutrality had been so advantageous to the House of Bavaria, why do not you observe it, at least, till such time as you find 'tis a Burthen to you? 1688.

The Elector's Answers were very dark and very intricate; but as he did not revoke the Departure of Marquiss *de Villars*, the latter left *Munich*, and travelled in Sledges over the Snow; and, eight Leagues from thence, met with Count *de Luzignan*, in his return from *Vienna*, where he had resided in quality of the Emperour's Envoy. The Emperour had allowed him a Guard, besides all the necessary Passports; and Marquiss *de Villars*, with the like Passports, was attended by one of the Elector's Trumpets. They were followed by a great Number of *Frenchmen*, so that these and their Domesticks, made a Train of more than three hundred Persons.

The Troops which the King had sent into *Suabia*, left it at the same time. Several Parties had levied Military Contributions, and set Fire to many Villages, very far within the Empire; and all the People thro' whose Countries they were to

1688.  pass, were exasperated even to Fury. Marquis *de Villars* thought it safest to shun the great Cities, whose Magistrates are not always able to quell the Insolence of the Populace; and besides, were in some measure authorized to treat the *French* ill, because of the wild Havock these had committed, and which Fame had made much greater. He imagined, that it would be more secure to lodge only in Villages, where they would always be the strongest, and could not be insulted; unless Troops should be sent, or the Populace spirited up against them. But as they had Passports, an Escort, and Trumpets, with which the Emperour and the Elector had furnished Count *de Luzignan* and himself; they afterwards were of Opinion, that these would be a sufficient Protection, and that none of the Commandants of the Enemy, would dare to violate the Law of Nations, in their Persons, or their Train. They travelled in this manner till they arrived, at Two in the Afternoon, at *Bregentz*. Marquis *de Villars* was determined to cross the *Rhine* the same Day, and reach *Switzerland*. They even had notice that an Officer of the Duke of *Wirtemberg* who had come up with them, riding Post, was gone to inform the Commandant of *Bregentz*

gentz of their being in that Town, so <sup>1688.</sup> that all things prompted them to retire as soon as possible to some Place of Safety. Besides, nothing prevented their doing this; the Governour of *Bregentz* could not draw above twenty Men out of his Castle: Not fifteen of the Inhabitants of this Village had Arms; and Count *de Luzignan*, and Marquiss *de Villars* had upwards of three hundred Men. However, Count *de Luzignan* insisted so strongly upon staying, that Marquiss *de Villars* after using his utmost Endeavours to dissuade him from his Resolution, at last consented to it.

About four in the Evening, Marquiss *de Villars* looking thro' his Window, spied a Company of People, under Arms, advancing forward from the neighbouring Villages, and heard several ill-sounding Country Drums beating in the Fields. These were six or seven hundred Peasants who assembled in the Village of *Bregentz* in less than two Hours warning. And now the Commandant of the Castle, finding himself the strongest, sent for their Passports in order to examine them. They were very good, but that Evening he attempted to quarrel with them; his Officers declaring they would examine every




1688. one of the Company, and know all their Names.

They were at Table, when armed Soldiers came, with an Air of Insolence, into the Room. Marquifs *de Villars*, smiling, said to Count *de Luzignan*, *The Dignity of Embassadors is a little invaded: Heaven keep us from worse.* At Day-break, as the Servants were saddling their Horses, and brought them out, the same Soldiers turned them again into the Stable. Marquifs *de Villars* seeing himself arrested, sent, with his Secretary, Marquifs *de Chassonville*, a young *French* Gentleman, formerly Page to the Elector of *Bavaria*, to the Commandant of *Bregentz*, to remonstrate, that he showed a manifest Contempt to the Elector of *Bavaria*, in arresting a Minister who was retiring from his Court with a Trumpet and good Passports from that Prince. At the same time, he ordered them to bestow Money liberally on the Commandant's Secretary and his Domesticks: By this means, those he had deputed brought back, at nine in the Evening, an order from the Commandant to permit Marquifs *de Villars* and his whole Train to pass on: But Count *de Luzignan*, and all his Attendants were arrested, and he himself was confined eight Months in a Castle in *Tirol*.


Marquifs

Marquiss *de Villars*, having thus escap-<sup>1688.</sup>  
 ed, as it were, out of the Emperour's Pri-  
 sons, and at a Time when a new War  
 was breaking out, (how affecting a Cir-  
 cumstance for him !) thought himself in-  
 finitely happy. He immediately travelled  
 into the *Swiss* Territories ; arrived in *St.*  
*Gall*, about five in the Evening ; and was  
 preparing to compensate, by a good  
 Night's Rest, all the bad ones he had past  
 ever since his leaving *Munich*, when the  
 Magistrates arrived to pay their Compli-  
 ments to him. After hearing the Speech,  
 he now fancied himself sure of sleeping  
 very sound, when those Gentlemen seated  
 themselves, and began a Discourse. Some  
 time after, word was brought him, that  
 Provisions were coming from all Parts,  
 and that a sumptuous Entertainment was  
 getting ready. 'Twas to no purpose that  
 he represented to them his extreme Weari-  
 ness, the prodigious occasion he had to  
 take a little Rest ; and therefore he in-  
 treated them to spare their Entertainment ;  
 but his Request was not so much as heard,  
 so that about Midnight, a grand Supper  
 was served up. There was a vast Profusion  
 of Pheasants ; *Milan* Capons, with gilded  
 Bills ; all sorts of Sweetmeats that *Genoa*  
 furnishes, these Gentlemen being resolved  
 that nothing should be spared. A Multi-  
 tude

1688.  tude of People were admitted in ; and the Magistrates distributed, among their Relations and Friends, the several Dainties with which the Tables were loaded. At last, about three in the Morning they all withdrew, and Marquifs *de Villars* heard of no one but the Landlord, who presented him a large Sheet of Paper ; and made him pay an extravagant price, for the Entertainment which the Magistrates had given their Family and Acquaintance.

He left *St. Gall*, very ill satisfied with the past Night, and crossed *Switzerland* at a great Expence ; for all beg in that Country. Besides, the People are intolerably rude ; and Travellers are often accosted by Peasants, who desire Money to drink with such an Air, as will hardly allow the Donor the least Merit for his Liberality. Marquifs *de Villars*, intending to lie at *Hunningen*, at Marquifs *de Puyseux's*, made all the Diligence possible ; and yet did not arrive at *Basil*, till the very Instant they were shutting up the Gates.

Marquifs *de Villars* had dispatched a Messenger before him, to desire that the Gates of *Basil* might be kept open ; but either from the awkwardness of the Person whom he sent, or the Lumpishness of the  
Swiss,


*Swiss*, the Marquiss had like to have lost 1688.  
his Life. The Night was vastly dark,   
'twas dreadful Weather (the sixth of *January*;) when his Attendants growing very impatient at their being kept so long out, quarrelled with the *Swiss* Centinels who were on the Rampart. Marquiss *de Villars* advancing to silence them, he lost his Feet on a sudden, and fell into the *Foss* of the Place that was lined and very deep. He had a very dangerous Fall. He endeavoured to answer such of his Attendants as were straining their Throats, but was unable to speak; so that they concluded him to be dead, and he himself was afraid that he had burst all the Fibres of his Stomach. However, he spoke a quarter of an Hour after, and answered those who had given over all Hopes of ever seeing him alive.

Very happily for him, he had changed his Boots at Dinner; and instead of *Hungarian* ones which he generally wore, the Severity of the Weather had obliged him to put on large Hunting-boots, with several pairs of Stockings; he also had cloathed himself in a furr'd Gown, and over that a Cloak. As he fell on his Feet, his Boots kept him from breaking his Legs. He endeavoured to rise up in the *Foss*, but the Pain was so violent, that he

1688. he funk down again. At last, they let  
 down the Rope by which Letters are taken in, and two Men sliding down into the *Foss*, tied him under the Armpits, in order to draw him out; but in pulling, the Rope, in which only a slip-knot had been made, almost strangled him; when the Men who were at the Top of the *Foss*, stooping, took him by one Arm, and drew him quite out. He was laid in the Centry-box, where, by giving him Brandy, they kept him from swooning away with the Pain; and after having continued six Hours in this Condition, without there being a Possibility of getting the Gates opened, they laid him at full length, on two Planks, and carried him to a Tavern, called *Sauvage*, in the City.

The Marquiss was immediately visited by a great Number of Physicians and Surgeons. He was laid along a Table, to see whether there was no Fracture. He was prodigiously bruised, but nothing was broke. After this he was carried in a Boat, to *Hunningen*, to Marquiss *de Puy-sieux's*, who was Governour of it. Here he had a violent Fever, a whole Week; when being a little recovered, tho' very weak, he was put into two Vedelins, or small Boats, joined together, in order to go down the *Rhine* to *Strasburg*. There  
 he



he was obliged to rest himself three or 1688.  
four Days, after which he went Post to   
*Mentz*, where Marshal *de Boufflers*, who  
commanded in those Frontiers, detained  
him also some Time.

He was obliged to take some Physic in  
this City, the Fever still hanging about  
him. At last, he waited upon his Ma-  
jesty, who did him the Honour to tell  
him, that he entertained too favourable  
an Opinion of Marquiss *de Villars's* Star,  
to believe that he could lose his Life, in  
the *Fosses* of the City of *Basil*: He was  
appointed to command the Cavalry in the  
Army of *Flanders*, of which Marshal  
*d'Humieres* was nominated General; Mar-  
shal *de Luxemburg*, not having yet been  
able to efface the ill Impressions which  
still remained in the King's Mind, upon  
account of the Affair for which he had  
been imprisoned in the *Bastille*. This Ge-  
neral, whose Character and Genius have  
shone at the Head of Armies, and had  
won several Battles, had been arrested by  
the Machination of Court Cabals; thrown  
into the *Bastille*; kept a close Prisoner,  
and interrogated upon several Matters as  
tho' he had been a Criminal.

That which had first given occasion to  
this, was, a Writing signed by him, by  
which he empowered certain Wretches,  
who

1688. who promised to raise the *Devil*, to conjure in his Name. 'Tis said, that this Writing had been artfully extorted from Marshall *de Luxemburg*; and indeed, 'tis scarce possible to conceive, that a Man who headed Armies, could have amused himself with silly Superstitions, fit to enveigle none but weak, female Minds. However, it cannot be denied, but that Marshal *de Luxemburg* had given some Occasion for the Imputation of these Follies. He was the professed Enemy of Mr. *de Louvois*, who had involved him in the black Accusations which had obliged the Countess *de Soissons* to leave the Kingdom, as also the Duchess *de Bouillon*, Marchioness *d' Halluy*, and many more. They were accused of Poisonings and of Witchcraft. One *Voisin*, a Woman famous for several Incantations, was seized. Mr. *de Luxemburg*, and all the Ladies abovementioned had been at her House. 'Tis even pretended, that the Duke *de Nevers* had showed to his Sister, some Years before, the Count of *Soissons* dying. In fine, a Chamber of Justice was erected; and on the Reports that prevailed of Poisonings, the Public could not but wish that the utmost Severity might be shown on this Occasion, to prevent the spreading of Crimes in *France*, which were but  
little

little known in that Kingdom. *Brain-* 1681.  
*villiers*, that cruel Wretch, who had de-  
stroyed part of her Family, was seized in  
*Liege*. To conclude, a few Truths and  
a great Number of Falsehoods, involved  
many innocent Persons with a very small  
Number who were really guilty.

After this Digression, on the Reasons  
which had lost Marshal *de Luxemburg* the  
Command, who doubtless had the greatest  
Abilities for it; we shall observe that that  
of *Flanders* was appointed for Marshal  
*d'Humieres*, a very brave Man, extremely  
witty in Conversation, and an agreeable  
Companion, but who had studied the  
Arts of Courts more than those of War.  
And indeed he was not upon a Level with  
the greatest Generals; and some Errors he  
committed this Campaign, were very  
much aggravated by his Enemies. The  
Enemy's Army, under General *Waldeck*,  
assembled behind *Mons*; and the different  
Movements which they made, were rather  
to procure Subsistence, than to come to  
Action. In the mean time, the Enemy  
crossed the *Sambre*; and Marshal *d'Hu-*  
*mieres* marched towards them, which gave  
occasion to the Attack at *Walcour*, (*Val-*  
*encourt*.) We shall resume the Sequel of  
that Campaign, after having given a short  
Character of the Generals of that Time.

We

1688.

~~~~~ We have already spoke of the Reasons which had lost Marshal *de Luxemburg* the Command of the Armies. Marshal *de Schomberg*, whose Abilities were supposed equal to that Command, had left the Kingdom for the sake of the Protestant Religion, the Exercise of which the King was determined to suffer no longer in his Dominions. The Protestant Churches had been pulled down; the Edict of *Nantz* revoked, and a great Persecution which ensued, had forced a prodigious Number of Families out of the Kingdom, which on that occasion received a Wound that will bleed for many Years, as the Government thereby lost a numberless Multitude of Subjects, many of whom were distinguished by their Fidelity, their Riches and Industry, all which they carried into foreign Countries, to the great Prejudice of *France*.

Marshal *de Schomberg* went first into *Portugal*, afterwards to *Brandenburg*, and from thence entered into the Service under King *William*, and was killed at the Battle of the *Boyne* in *Ireland*.

Marshal *de Luxemburg*, fallen out with the Court, but especially with Mr. *de Louvois*, who had been chiefly instrumental in his Disgrace, had no Employment.

Marshal

Marſhal d' *Humieres* was appointed to 1688. command the Army in *Flanders*, and Marſhal de *Duras* that of *Germany*. Marſhal de *Bellefonds*, who had greater Abilities, but was for ever at Variance with Mr. de *Louvois*, finding that Generals had been nominated to Command the principal Armies, waited upon that Miniſter, and deſired to be excuſed from ſerving. His Requeſt was granted with pleaſure; ſo Marſhal de *Navailles* was ordered into *Rouſſillon*, and Marſhal de *Lorge*, without Forces, or very little occaſion for his going, was ſent into *Guienne*.

To give then ſome little Account of the Characters of theſe Generals: Marſhal de *Luxemburg*, who doubtleſs had the greateſt Abilities, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a great Number of very ſucceſſful Engagements, not to mention his fine Senſe and diſtinguiſhed Bravery, was not poſſeſſed of that Aſſiduity which is indispensably neceſſary for the Conduct of an Affair of ſo much Importance, as that of heading an Army. He could judge excellently well at firſt Sight; in an Action, he formed a moſt perfect Judgment of the Motions of the Enemy, and gave out, with Juſtneſs, Exactneſs, and Diſpatch, thoſe which his own Troops were to obſerve. Theſe his excellent Qualities ſhone
in

1688. in a great Number of Engagements. But as he concerned himself very little with military Projects, 'tis pretended that he did not attend sufficiently to the Advantages which might be drawn from the great Success of a Project. These great Qualities, and this Defect, have been found in most of the Battles in which he commanded.

Marshal *de Schomberg* had signalized himself very much in the Wars of *Portugal*. He did not command in those of *France* till he was very far advanced in Years; so that, possibly, Age might increase a Slowness which seemed born with him. He was a Man of good Sense, was resolute, tenacious of his Resolutions, and severe in the Command. His Prudence, in the Counsel he gave not to attack the Prince of *Orange* near *Valenciennes*, was thought very injudicious; as also in his Inactivity, when the Prince of *Orange* retired before him, upon his abandoning the Siege of *Maestricht*.

Marshal *de Bellefonds* enjoyed so small a share of the Command, that little can be said of his Talents for War. He had distinguished himself in the Employment of Lieutenant-General. No one could deny but that he was a Man of fine Sense. He was valiant, and spoke extremely well on military


military Matters ; but relying on the Goodness and Favour of his Sovereign, he despised the Ministers, who all conspired his ruin ; and he himself gave them several Opportunities to effect it, of all which they immediately took Advantage. 1688.

Marquiss *de Villars* never saw Marshal *de Duras* either serve or command. He, and Marshal *de Lorge* his Brother, were Nephews to Mr. *de Turenne*, who had always used his utmost Endeavours to raise his Family. He employed all his Credit to procure them the highest Employments they could aspire after ; and these two Brothers were raised to Honours, Dignities, and the most exalted Posts, without having done Services which seemed to claim so considerable a Reward. Marshal *de Lorge* was very famous for his Courage when but a Subaltern. After the Death of Mr. *de Turenne*, he had the chief Command of the Army in conjunction with Marquiss *de Vaubrun*, a very bold, sensible Man. He was, in some sort, the Minister's Creature, in an Army entirely devoted to Mr. *de Turenne*, who was his professed Enemy. For this Reason, *Vaubrun* was hated and Marshal *de Lorge* beloved ; and to the latter was ascribed all the Honour of the Battle of *Altheneim*. Marquiss *de Vaubrun* had received a very deep


1688. deep Wound a few Days before, notwithstanding which, he shared in the Action, and continued in it till he lost his Life.

His Majesty's Army having repassed the *Rhine*, all things seemed to favour Count *de Lorge*. But the Court, unwilling to raise him to the Dignity of Marshal of *France*, sent Marshal *de Duras*, then in *Franche Comté*, to take upon him the Command of the Army; so that Count *de Lorge* was not created Marshal of *France* till the Winter following.


However, scarce was he at the Head of Armies, but the Merit he had acquired in subaltern Employments, was crushed by the Weight of the chief Command, which really was above his Genius. 'Twas a Misfortune to all the Generals above-mentioned, that they succeeded the two most famous Men of their Age, the great *Condé* and Viscount *de Turenne*; and those who had served under these illustrious Personages, discovered so great a Difference, that they could scarce prevail with themselves to submit to that Subordination, which their Dignity and Command required. However, we must except Marshal *de Luxemburg*, whose great Qualities could not be obscured by the little Assiduity which was ascribed to him; by his Weakness for his Favourites; and a kind of

of Ficklenefs no ways becoming a great 1688. Man. 

This little Description we have given of the Generals, who commanded in the War which began in 1688, and ended in 1697, gives a fufficient Idea of their Capacities. 'Tis certain, that *France* ſhould naturally have gained the greateſt Advantages, eſpecially in *Germany*, from the happy Diſpoſition of our Frontiers, we having five Bridges over the *Rhine*; as many Strong-holds which ſet open to us the Empire, that was covered only by a very weak Army, and which often was headed by indifferent Generals; not to mention that the Emperour was obliged to employ his beſt Troops and his ableſt Generals, in his Wars againſt the *Turks*.

We now return to the Campaign of 1689. 1689, and to thoſe particulars which relate to Marquiſs *de Villars*, whoſe Life and Memoirs are our chief Object. 

Marſhal *d' Humieres* had no other view than to cover the Frontiers; and the Court ſeemed to have no other Deſign, than to let the Enemy exhaust themſelves, by the Efforts they made to beſiege *Mentz*. During this, Marſhal *de Duras* compleated a Work, which we may juſtly affirm was directly oppoſite to the Glory of the Nation,

1688.  tion, and even to that of a very good, and very great Monarch.

His Majesty, whose Goodness was certainly never sufficiently known, had been brought to a Persuasion, that the Safety of his Kingdom consisted in making all the Country between our Frontiers and the Enemy's Army, a Desert. For this purpose, in opposition to our own Interest, and the Rules of War, we had burnt the large Cities of *Triers, Worms, Spires, and Heidelberg*; a numberless Multitude of others of less note; and the richest and best Counties in the World. We had extended this pernicious view so far, as to forbid any Person to sow Seed four Leagues on either Side of the *Maes*.

'Tis scarce possible to conceive how these horrid Counsels came to be given. Marquiss *de Louvois*, a Man of vast Parts, did not oppose, but enforced them to his Majesty, in spite of his Goodness, which, I again declare, was extreme. These Orders were given, followed, and executed with a Rigour, which will be for ever a Reproach to the bravest Nation in the Universe.

Marshal *de Duras* was employed in setting Fire again and again to all Places, for our Troops burnt even the Vaults, nor was a single Church spared. However,
the

the King's Justice and Piety were so great, 1689. that several were rebuilt afterwards; but still, the Evil was past remedy.

The Campaign therefore in *Germany*, passed in seeing *Mentz* taken; and in *Flanders*, nothing was performed but a few inconsiderable Movements. Marquis *de Villars*, vexed to see himself the Commander of so glorious a Body of Horse without coming to Action, proposed several Parties, which did not please Marquis *d' Humieres*; Endeavours were even used to set him at variance with that General, and his good Intentions were all defeated. The Enemy undertook a dangerous Forrage. Marquis *de Villars* was going to attack the Escorts of it, when the Chevalier *de Tilladet*, Lieutenant-General of the Day, would not permit him. In another, made by our own Troops, a Party fell upon our Forragers. Marquis *de Villars* charged, and took them all Prisoners; on which occasion, the young Prince *de Rohan*, was wounded with a Musket-shot. He was extremely brave, and died some time after of his Wound. In fine, the Enemy having come and encamped near *Walcour*, (a small City, but surrounded with strong Walls) at a little Distance from the Head of their Camp, Marshal *d' Humieres* thought he might

1688. carry this Post, and accordingly attacked it, without first taking a proper view. We lost at it, the Chevalier *Colbert*, Brigadier and Colonel of *Champagne*; and three Captains of the Guard. Marquiss *de St. Gelais* was also killed by a Ball, so that this unfortunate Attack was of prejudice to Marshal *d'Humieres*.

Some time after, 'twas thought that we were in a Condition to cannonade the Enemy's Camp. A Draught of it was shown; and at Day-break, our Cannon being drawn up, it appeared that that of the Enemy was ranged much more advantageously; that that part of their Camp which had been exposed the Night before had been removed in the Night; so that they gave us a salvo of thirty pieces of Cannon, before ours had began to fire.

This Campaign, as the Reader has seen, was not very glorious. The Duke *du Maine* did not give an advantageous Account of it to the King; so that Marshal *de Luxemburg* was appointed to command the Army the next Campaign.

Marquiss *de Villars* spent the Winter in visiting the Cavalry. His Majesty and the Minister put the greatest Confidence in him, the Inspectors being commanded to follow him severally in the Extent of his Inspection. He was commissioned to
change

change such Majors as he found unfit for 1689. their Posts; to nominate Captains to succeed them; to examine the bad Officers in every Corps, and to rid the Cavalry of them.

His Majesty appointed him Marshal de Camp at the close of 1689; and he was ordered to serve in the Army which was to be commanded by Marquis *de Boufflers* with Count *Tallard*; and the Marquisses *d' Harcourt* and *de Tessé*, who also were Marshals de Camp.

This Campaign was not distinguished by any remarkable Event; and the Army of Marquis *de Boufflers*, which was designed to guard the Middle of the Frontiers, between the Armies of *Germany*, under the Command of the Dauphin; and that of *Flanders* commanded by Marshal *de Luxemburg*, did not once come to Action. Marshal *de Villars* was so much displeased at this Inactivity, that he desired to serve as Volunteer for a few Days; and at a Time when it appeared, by the Motions of the Armies of *Germany*, that there would be a Battle. Marquis *de Boufflers* would not let him go; representing to him, that he would certainly be reprimanded by the Court, in case he should quit, without Leave, the Post he was in, merely to go and march in another Army.

1689. In fine, whether from Sorrow, or a natural Effect, he fell sick in *Ardennes*, and so violently that his Life was despaired of. Marquifs *de Boufflers* himself, being obliged to leave the Camp of *Obersdorff*, when Marquifs *de Villars* was seemingly expiring, left two Regiments of Dragoons by way of Guard. However, an Emetic and the Vigour of his Constitution saved him, and he was carried to *Arlon*, and thence to *Sedan*, where he received Orders from Court to go and Command in *Flanders* during the Winter, under Marquifs *de Boufflers*. Upon the Report of his being at the Point of Death, Marquifs *de la Valette* sued for his Command, and obtained it. But recovering so well as to be able to serve again, Marquifs *de la Valette* was sent to the Frontiers of *Picardy*.

1690. In the Beginning of 1690, the Court sent orders to Marquifs *de Boufflers* to march an Army, behind *Brussels*, leaving it to the Left. Marquifs *de Villars* was commanded to pass the *Dender*, at the Head of seven or eight thousand Men, and to march directly for *Brussels*. Accordingly, he assembled, very secretly, all his Forces under *Tournay*; and set out in a very severe Season, having a pretty strong Fever upon him, which, however, he

he did not mention, for fear lest his Friends should oppose the Resolution he had taken, not to entrust another with this Command. Tho' it was manifestly dangerous for him to go upon this Expedition, in a very severe Season, and with a Fever upon him, he nevertheless went and encamped at *Grammont*. This Fever, which arose from a very violent Cold, stopt with the latter, which he removed by taking a large Quantity of burnt Brandy, and three Hours sleep.

Advice was brought Marquiss *de Villars*, that Count *de Versaffine* had assembled 2500 Horse two Leagues from *Grammont*. He marched against him, and came up with him at three Leagues from *Brussels*. Count *de Versaffine* drew up his Troops behind a Rivulet; and Marquiss *de Villars* ordered Mr. *de Vendeuil*, Marshal de Camp, and *Dachy* a Brigadier, to sound the Passage, whilst himself went up the Rivulet, to take the Enemy in Flank. However, his Order was not well executed; and, *Versaffine* finding Marquiss *de Villars* was going to intercept him, left three Troops on the Bank of the Rivulet, and retired; the Soldiers who were commanded to press hard upon him, not advancing a single Step after him. Thus, this Body which might have been defeated,

1690. ed, lost only the three Troops which they sacrificed to their Retreat. Some Days after, it being a very hard Frost, a Resolution was taken to cross the Canals above *Ghent*, and to enter the *Pays de Vaas*. Eighteen or twenty thousand Men took two different Routs. Marquiss *de Villars* with the Forces drawn out of *Tournay*, *Valenciennes*, *Doway* and *Lisle*, leaving the * *Lis* to the Left, which he crossed at *Disne*; and Marquiss *de Boufflers*, at the Head of all the Forces drawn from *Dunkirk*, *Ypres*, and other Strong-holds, marched directly on the Canal, from *Ghent* to *Bruges*. The Ice being very hard, they crossed the Canal; and Marquiss *de Villars* entered the *Pays de Vaas*. By this march, the King got four Millions by Contributions, without the loss of one Man. The Troops returned afterwards to their respective Garrisons, where they were ordered to repose themselves, till the opening of the Campaign.

We must not omit here the Battle of *Stafarda*, fought the eighteenth of *August*. After a bloody Engagement which lasted six Hours, the Duke of *Savoy* was forced to leave the Field of Battle, on which three thousand lay dead, besides a great Number of Prisoners. A little after, Mr. *de Catinat* appeared before *Saluzzo*, which

* A large River in *Flanders*.

made but a weak Resistance. The other ^{1690.} little Fortresses, after the example of the last mentioned City, soon opened their Gates to the Conqueror, who soon after marched and besieged *Susa*, which he won as easily as he had done *Saluzzo*.

At the same time that *Piedmont* submitted to Mr. *de Catinat*'s Army, *Savoy* was laid waste by that commanded by St. *Ruth*, a Man more odious for his Severities than famous for his Victories. In this manner, the Duke of *Savoy* saw his Dominions torne from him; his only refuge consisting in a few Citadels which stood by him, under the Ruins of which that Prince was resolved to bury himself, rather than yield.

One of the most remarkable Events of this Year, is the Battle of the *Boyne*. Here two Kings were seen in Arms one against the other, the one being the Father the other the Son-in-law, in like manner as *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, antiently, in the Plains of *Pbarsalia*. The Prince of *Orange* gave an entire defeat to the King of *Great-Britain*'s Army. Marshal *de Schomberg*, who had left *France* after the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantz*, and commanded under King *William*, was killed in this Engagement. Not long after, *Dublin* opened it's Gates to the Conqueror.

1691.

In the Beginning of 1691, his Majesty concerted, with the greatest Secrecy, all his Measures for besieging *Mons*. This City was vastly strong, of great Importance, and defended by a large Garrison. The Prince of *Gremberg* was Governour of it; and Lieutenant-General *Fagel*, commanded the *Dutch* Troops there. Marshal *de Boufflers*, and Marquiss *de Villars* were the only Persons appointed to invest it, and none but themselves were let into the Secret. It was necessary to conceal this Project from the Enemy, and annoy them in so many different Places at the same Time, that it might be difficult for them to penetrate the real Design.

These Forces began to move, as early as the first of *April*, on the *Maes* in *Hainault*, in *Flanders*, and towards the Sea: when the Enemy, not knowing our Views, left the usual Garrisons in all the Towns which were menaced. Marquiss *de Villars* was commanded to invest *Mons*, on its most dangerous Side, viz. that of *Brussels* and *Ath*, by which only the Enemy could throw Succours into it. He marched from *Conde*, leaving the River *Aine* on his Right. Marquiss *de Crequi* commanded, under him, the Troops that were to invest *Mons*; but he strayed in such a manner, that in the Beginning of
the

the Night Marquis *de Villars* had but five ^{1691.} Squadrons; so all he could do was to post himself, within an hundred and fifty Paces from the Gate of *Mons*, which led to *Brussels*, to prevent, as far as he was able, any one from going into *Mons* in the Night-time. At Day-break, Marquis *de Crequi* came up with the Troops; when Marquis *de Villars* possessed himself of the Village of *Nimy*, where was the Abbey of *St. Denys*, and all the principal Avenues to the abovementioned City; cut off, and barricaded all the Roads, and began to draw the Line of Circumvallation. The Pioneers came up the third Day. Before this, considerable Parties of Horse, and Detachments of Granadiers had appeared; but none of them dared to force the Avenues; so that, before the fourth Day, the Posts were taken, and entrenched in such a manner, that they did not fear any Attack but from an entire Army.

The Prince of *Orange* went in great Diligence to *Brussels*, where he appointed the Rendezvous of all the confederate Forces. His Majesty arrived at the Siege, and all the proper Dispositions being made, by the Care of Mr. *de Louvois*, whose great Abilities made him not omit any, whether with regard to the assemb-

1691. ling of an Army, or for securing Provisions and Ammunitions of all kinds; the Trenches were opened the ninth Day from the first investing of the Place. The Prince of Orange was approaching with a considerable Army; and the King, discoursing with several General Officers and Marquiss *de Louvois*, with regard to the Design which the Prince of Orange might have in view; many were of Opinion, that he would attempt a General Engagement, when Marquiss *de Villars* said, *'Tis my Opinion he will not.* His Majesty asking him why? *Villars* answered, *For this Reason; because 'tis better to do nothing than to do wrong; and that your Majesty's Measures are so well concerted; the Posts so advantageous and so strongly entrenched; your Troops are so much superiour in Number to those of the Enemy, that you may only wish the Prince of Orange would attack you.*

Marquiss *de Louvois* was vastly well pleased to see this Opinion supported; for the Courtier would fain persuade the King, that the Minister had ventured his Glory and his Person; and to say the Truth, no Enterprize had ever been formed with greater Judgment, or better Methods taken to render the Success of it infallible.

The Enemy made but a very weak De-^{1691.} fence, and not a single Attack was successful. The Horn-Work was attacked and carried; but, whether the Materials for our People to entrench themselves therein had not been brought soon enough, or by some Remissness of a Detachment of Guards, the Enemy got again into it. However, it was retaken very easily a few Hours after; and Marquiss *de Villars* being one of the first who entered it, found *Constant*, a Captain of the Grani-diers of the Regiment called *des Vaisseaux*, still breathing; but very dangerously wounded, the Enemy having left him as dead. This was the only Action fought at the Siege of *Mons*. The King lost but very few Men, who then returned to *Versailles*, and was pleased to express great Satisfaction to Mr. *de Villars*, for the Services he had performed.

The Troops were sent again into their respective Garrisons, and in quarters of Forrage in the several Strong-holds of *Flanders*, of the *Maes*, of *Picardy*, *Champagne*, of *Eveche's*, and so near one another, as to give an opportunity of drawing together again the Army, and to take the Field, as soon as the Enemy's Motions should oblige them to it.

1691.



They also sent their Troops into distant Quarters; and a Resolution was taken, to bombard the City of *Liege*, and throw red-hot Balls into it. Marquifs *de Boufflers* was appointed to head this Expédition, and Marquifs *de Villars* ordered to serve in this Army, which was posted on the Hills towards * *la Chartreuse*. A great Number of red-hot Balls were thrown into the City, but did little execution. The Fort of *Chenai*, about half a League from the City, being guarded by five hundred Men, Marquifs *de Villars*, as he was walking among the most advanced Guards, observed that the Troops in that Fort were in some Motion; when judging that they were going to abandon it, as they seemed to leave it with great Precipitation, he took the first Piquets of Horse and Foot, who were at the Head of the Camp, and then marching in great Diligence towards them, the five hundred Men were all killed or taken Prisoners. This was the most remarkable Event in this Expedition.

Our Troops were ordered to set fire to the Suburbs as they retired; nevertheless, Marquifs *de Villars* who commanded the Rear-guard, moved by the Dictates of

* In the Mountains of *Dauphiné*.

Humanity which was natural to him, ^{1691.} saved them from Destruction, fifteen or sixteen Houses excepted, which he had no opportunity to preserve. Marquiss *de Boufflers* was ordered to march back his Army near *Dinant*, which he did in four Days. They repassed pretty near *Huy*, possessed by the Enemy; and as the Army was coming into the Camp marked out for it, Advice was brought to Marquiss *de Boufflers*, that the Enemy, who were pretended to be strong on the other Side of the *Maes*, intended to cross it at *Huy*, and attack him in his march, which was almost impossible, because of the great Distance between him and the Prince of *Orange*, who was said to be near *Lorraine*; not to mention, that an Army cannot pass a River, such as the *Maes*, over a single Bridge, or in so short a Time. Nevertheless Marquiss *de Boufflers*, on this Advice, intended not to let the Troops encamp, but would have them march forward.

Marquiss *de Boufflers*'s Reputation, with regard to Valour, was sufficiently established, but he was accused of Irresolution; and, indeed, we often see Men who are personally intrepid, seized with a kind of Fear, when entrusted with the supreme Command of an Army.

Marquiss.

1691. *Marquiss de Villars* represented to *Marquiss de Boufflers* that this Counter-march would not be approved, as there was no Necessity for it. The latter acquiesc'd with his Reasons, so that the Army was ordered to encamp; and *Marquiss de Villars* saved his Friend from committing a hasty Action which would have been blamed.

Orders were given to break up before Day, and the Army marched a great many Leagues. Having Parties about *Huy*, we regulated our Motions on certain Advices, without discovering a needless Fear. *Marquiss de Boufflers* was obliged to *Marquiss de Villars*, for his good Advice.

The Army arrived at *Dinant*, and rested three or four Days. The preceeding Campaign, the *Marquiss de Calvo*, formerly Lieutenant-General, who died in the Winter, had headed the second Army in *Flanders*, which was before under the Command of *Marshal d'Humieres*. The King now bestowed it on *Marquiss de Villars*, who received his Commission, and Instructions for that purpose, in the Camp near *Dinant*. Thus he had the Command over all the Forces in Garrison, from *Tournay* to the Sea; besides fifteen Battalions and thirty Squadrons, with a Train of Artillery. He was appointed to defend

send the Lines, which cover the whole ^{1691.} Country from the *Scheld* to *Dunkirk*. In general, he was to obey Marshal *de Luxemburg*; but in certain cases, his Majesty had given him Orders to act independently on that General.

He came to *Tournay*, and assembled his little Army between *Cambrin* and * *Pont des Pierres*. He then writ to Marshal *de Luxemburg*, and explained to him by several just military Reasons, that the only Method for a General to defend Lines, is to seize, if possible, some advantageous Post, intrenched without the Line; in order to oblige an Enemy, who intends to attack the Lines, to determine his Attack either to the Right or Left; since the Disadvantage of commanding over a large Extent of Country, is the not being able to know where the true Attack may be made; and that the Enemy, by spreading an Alarm in different Places, obliges the Commander who stands upon the Defensive, to divide his Forces, which consequently must weaken them every where. This Disposition made by Marquiss *de Villars* was approved by Mr. *de Luxemburg*, and it prevented Marquiss *de Castanaga* from making any Attempt, tho' he

* *Pont d'Espieres*.

1691. was marching towards him with a superior Force.

The Disposition abovementioned was of great Advantage to Marquiss *de Villars*; for as his Country was covered, and he, consequently, not paying any Contribution, he obliged that of the Enemy to furnish him Provisions of every kind. So that Marquiss *de Castanaga* had the Mortification to see Waggons, from the Territories subject to the *Spaniards*, daily cross his Camp, and bring in Hay and Oats to that of Marquiss *de Villars*.

His Majesty's Army commanded by Mr. *de Luxemburg*, only observed the Motions of that of the Prince of *Orange*.

About the Beginning of *September*, Marshal *de Luxemburg*, was of Opinion, that he might go into Forrage-Quarters, towards *Ninove*, and lodged his Army in a very fruitful Country.

To secure to himself Provisions and his Convoys, he sent Word to Marquiss *de Villars* to post himself, with the greatest Part of his Troops, towards *Renai*; in order that every Thing which came out of *Tournay*, might pass safely to Mr. *de Luxemburg*'s Army. The Enemy threw 2500 Horse into *Oudenard*; and one Day, as a Convoy of near four thousand Waggons was passing; Marquiss *de Villars*.

Villars posted himself as advantageously as ^{1691.} he could possibly, in order to cover it; but the Train was so long, and extended over so much Ground, that 'twas very difficult for him to secure every Part of it.

The Enemy came out of *Oudenard*; attacked the Convoy in two Places, and took the Horses out of some of the covered Waggons. However, *Marquiss de Villars* hastened to that Part in so much Diligence, that the Enemy was every where repulsed, and the Convoy brought off happily.

Marshal de Luxemburg desired *Marquiss de Villars* to come to him, in order that they might concert the most proper Measures for securing the Provisions.

Marshal de Luxemburg's Army, as we observed, was very well encamped; having a great Abundance of Corn and Forrage; all the Troops provided with Barracks; the General in so happy a Situation as gave him an Opportunity of making the noblest Cheer; having *Campine* Chickens, *Ghent* Veal, excellent *English* Oysters; in a word, a great profusion of Dainties of every kind. We mention these Trifles, because *Marshal de Luxemburg's* Enemies would sometimes say, that Things of this kind had some little Influence

1691. fluence over his Resolutions. Marquifs de
Villars finding the Marshal extremely well
fatisfied with his Situation, took the Li-
berty to say to him, “ But may not the
“ Prince of *Orange* come and encamp
“ near *Ath* and *de Ligne*, and consequently
“ force you in an Instant, from this delicious
“ Encampment”? Marshal *de Luxemburg*
declared it would be impossible for several
Reasons, when *Tracy* who was in the
Field with three hundred Horse, sent
word, that he believed he saw the Head
of the Columns of the Enemy’s Army.
We would have flattered our selves that
’twas only a Forage; nevertheless, a se-
cond Express coming from *Tracy* to con-
firm the former, we mounted on Horse-
back; and from the first rising Grounds
discovered the Enemy’s Army really
marching on the Side of *Ath*; and before
two in the Afternoon, it was seen to ex-
tend along the little Rivulet *de Ligne*.
Marquifs *de Villars* returned with great
speed to his Camp, and kept his Soldiers up-
on the watch all Night, and at Day-break
he drew nearer again to the *Scheld*. Mar-
shal *de Luxemburg* was obliged to do the
same, and to abandon a Camp, where
we had spent five or six Days in furnish-
ing our selves with a Profusion of all
Things,

Things, and was forced to march the Army under *Tournay*. 1691.

Marshal *de Luxemburg* was vexed to have mistook in his Measures, and this little Uneasiness gave occasion to a great Action which was fought two Days after. Marshal *de Luxemburg* received Advice, that the Prince of *Orange* had left the Command of the Army to Count *Waldeck*; and that it was to march the 20th of *September*, in order to encamp in the Plain of *Cambren*. He believed it would be possible for him to attack the Rear-guard, so sent Orders to Marquiss *de Villars*, to march that Instant with four Battalions, the Regiments of *Merinville*, and *Tesse's* Dragoons, in order to join him under *Tournay*. Marshal *de Villars* found him in an Abbey near *Tournay*, where he lay all Night on Straw, and giving Orders to sixty Squadrons to mount. He told Marquiss *de Villars*, that he had formerly defeated a Rear-guard, which all were unanimously of Opinion he could never overtake; but that knowing the Enemy did not always take the Precautions necessary; and that, by making great Dispatch, they possibly might come up with those who thought themselves out of Danger, he therefore ordered Marquiss *de Villars* to go before with the six Squadrons, and the four Battalions.

1691. talions. He added, that he would meet
 in the Road to * *Leuses*, *Marcilly*, an
 Ensign of the Horse-guards with four
 hundred Horse; and desired the Mar-
 quiss, to make use of him, to keep as close
 as possible to the Enemy; but above all,
 not to fail sending him Advice, the In-
 stant he should discover them, of all
 Things he should observe with regard to
 their Dispositions.

Marquiss *de Villars* commanded Briga-
 dier *Boisselot*, to bring up the four Bat-
 talions with as much Diligence, as was
 possible for Infantry to make; and he
 himself advanced, with six Squadrons, on
 the Rout, where *Marcilly* was advancing.
 At eight in the Morning, he spied *Mar-*
cilly at a League's Distance from him, and
 thereupon ordered Marquiss *d' Aubijoux*, a
 Brigadier, to follow with his six Squa-
 drons, when he himself made all imagi-
 nable hast towards *Marcilly*, with whom
 he came up, and found his four hundred
 Horse drawn up in order of Battle, and
 observing the march of the Enemy's Ar-
 my, the greatest Part of which had pas-
 sed the Rivulet *de Leuze*. He informed
Marcilly of Mr. *de Luxemburg's* Design,
 for which purpose, (he said) he must en-

* Or *Lyeffer*.

deavour to amuse the Enemy. *Marcilly* 1691. was half a League from them; and, not knowing the real Design of Marshal *de Luxemburg*, he kept at such a Distance as gave him an Opportunity of observing them, without exposing himself to Danger.

Marquifs *de Villars* made him advance, and commanded the six Squadrons he headed, to follow at about a thousand Paces distance. He himself brought up *Marcilly's* four hundred Horse within five hundred Paces of the Enemy, who seeing so small a Body of Horse, made a halt. Marquifs *de Villars* observing this, thinned the Ranks of these little Squadrons, and brought eight Troops in sight. The Enemy supposing the Troops advancing towards them, were part of a Body consisting of two thousand Horse, commanded by Mr. *de Besons*, in the neighbourhood of *St. Guilain*, they spread over a larger extent of Ground, as tho' they sought to attack with greater Advantage.

Marquifs *de Villars* sent Orders to Marquifs *de Toiras*, who commanded these six Squadrons to approach, and draw them up in a Line. The Enemy continued to form themselves, and that Moment Mr. *de Luxemburg* arrived with the utmost speed; having commanded the Brigade of
the


1691. the King's Household to follow upon a
 ~~~~~ hard Trot, and he himself came up with  
 Marquifs *de Villars*, who said to him,  
 “ You wanted to engage a Rear-guard ;  
 “ I have stopt it this three quarters of an  
 “ Hour, and you now may do as you  
 “ please.” Mr. *de Luxemburg* answered,  
 “ I come with an Intention to fight ;  
 “ whilst your first Line, replied Mar-  
 “ quifs *de Villars*, is forming, I'll go and  
 “ reconnoitre a little the Right of the  
 “ Enemy.” *Doger* spoke first to the Mar-  
 shal, and said, “ The Enemy grow more  
 “ numerous : If you intend to charge  
 “ them, this is the Moment.” *Villars*  
 said the same, and Mr. *de Luxemburg*  
 spoke only these Words, *Come on, let us*  
*Charge* ; and immediately sent *Doger* to  
 the Right. Marquifs *de Villars* returned  
 with the utmost speed to the Left, and as  
 he was riding along the Front of the  
 Light-Horse, he cried to *Vatteville* who  
 was at their Head, “ I am going to be  
 “ hemmed in by three or four of the E-  
 “ nemy's Squadrons, is it not possible for  
 “ you to spread ? ” They now were come  
 up so near to the Enemy, that they had  
 nothing to do but charge those who were  
 before them. Marquifs *de Villars* made  
 only the short Speech following to *Merin-*  
*ville's* Squadrons ; “ Friends ; you beat  
 “ them

“ them heartily last Year, and will do 1691.  
“ the same again.” All the Troopers  
replied, in a proud Tone, *We will beat  
them.* Marquifs *de Villars* put himself at  
the Head of the first Squadron; Marquifs  
*de Toiras* at the Head of the Second, and  
Count *de Merinville* at the Third. They  
then marched up to the Enemy, and per-  
haps a more furious Onset was never  
seen. 'Tis very unusual for Squadrons to  
be so long engaging, without flinching;  
but these would never give Ground, till the  
first and second Rank were cut to pieces.  
This Line was defeated, and that which  
sustained it gave way of it self; but of  
*Merinville's* three Squadrons, which con-  
sisted of no more than three hundred and  
sixty Troopers, one hundred and ninety  
were disabled, and twenty-six Officers out  
of thirty-two. Marquifs *de Toiras*, after  
receiving several Wounds, was slain. Mar-  
quifs *de Villars* had no other Armour than  
a double Buff-coat, and his Handkerchief  
under his Hat, which saved his Life;  
for his Buff-coat, his Hat, &c. were  
pierced in seventeen places, and his Body  
untouched. His Horse drew him from  
this Onset, and afterwards fell.

To return to the general Action. The  
Squadrons of the King's Guards, defeat-  
ing all who opposed them, were very  
much

1691. much annoyed. *Doger*, a Lieutenant-General, *Neuchelles* who commanded his Majesty's Guards, *La Troche*, Marquifs *de Rotelin*, and a Multitude of Serjeants, &c. were killed. Marquifs *d'Alegre* was wounded, with many more.

Marquifs *de Villars* marching back his Left Wing, led it into the Intervals of a second Line which was juſt arrived on a full Gallop; for two Lines had been attacked by one. The firſt Squadrons that *Villars* met were thoſe of *Quadt*. The Colonel, on his arrival, was for charging thoſe of the Enemy which were neareſt him, but Marquifs *de Villars* obliged him to ſtop. A little after, there came up the Squadrons of *du Maine*, *de Roban*, *de Prâlin*, and ſeveral more, where we formed a Line which extended beyond that of the Enemy; and indeed, they ſuſtained the Charge but very faintly, and were repulſed to the Rivulet. We now returned back; when Marſhal *de Luxemburg*, who found himſelf coming up with the Enemy's Army, which was returning with great ſpeed; and full three Leagues diſtance from him with ſeventy Squadrons only, had now nothing to do but retreat. Such was the Battle of *Leuſes*, very glorious for his Majesty's Forces, ſince eighteen Squadrons beat near fifty of thoſe of the Enemy.

Enemy. The Loss, however, was near <sup>1691.</sup> equal; and Glory was the only Advantage the Victor gained. 

We arrived at *Tournay* about six in the Evening, when Marshal *de Luxemburg* and the chief Officers went to the Play. No General was ever of so facetious a Temper. He loved Carouzing, Gaming, and Pleasures of every kind; but then, he suffered his Favourites to gain an arbitrary Ascendant over him; and the ill use they made of it raised him oftentimes Enemies, tho' he was naturally kind and beneficent. We did not mention the Duke *de Chartres*, a Volunteer in this Action; who, being naturally very brave, was very uneasy that he was not present in the greatest Danger. But tho' he had not then an Occasion to display all his Ardour, he distinguished himself very gloriously the following Campaigns at *Steinkirk*, *Nerwinde*, and other Places, in which he had an Opportunity of showing his Courage. Marquis *de Villars* was obliged to this Duke for having made the most honourable mention of him in the Account he sent of the Battle of *Leuses*: And indeed, 'twas his Agility that stopt the Enemy's Rear-guard, and always led on the Left Wing to the Charge, with great Advantage, against the Right of the Enemy,

K



1691. my, which extended four or five Squadrons beyond it. On the other Side, Marshal *de Luxemburg* highly applauded the Marquis's Conduct; but as he was at Enmity with that General's Favourites, who had a considerable Hand in the Relations, those sent by Marshal *de Luxemburg*, did not take notice, that Marquis *de Villars* had been chiefly instrumental in bringing on the Battle, and that the Success of it was principally owing to him.

The Army was lodged in Forrage-Quarters till the 20<sup>th</sup> of *October*, a Season in which Campaigns generally break up, except upon some extraordinary Occasion.

His Majesty's Arms were not so successful in *Ireland*, where *James II.* had still a considerable Party, and was possessed of several impotent Strong-holds, and *Limerick* among the rest. The King, who supported the Efforts that Prince made, to return into his Dominions, gave him twelve Men of War and three thousand Soldiers, with all the Provisions necessary as well for these Troops as those of *Ireland*. They made a Descent at *Limerick*, under the Chevalier *de Nesmond*. In the mean time, the Prince of *Orange* resolved to besiege it, and accordingly the Trenches were opened the 5<sup>th</sup> of *September*. The Besiegers,

Besiegers, after making a vigorous De-<sup>1691.</sup> fence, desired, (*Oct.* 3.) a Cessation of Arms, which was granted them for three Days, in order to confer on the Capitulation, the Articles of which were not agreed on till the 13<sup>th</sup>; and the 14<sup>th</sup>, *Boisjelot* who defended the City, surrendered it to the *English*.

Count *de Châteaurenaud* brought away, on board the *French* Ships, all the *French* Forces, with the Garrison of *Limerick* consisting of fifteen thousand *Irish*, pursuant to the Capitulation, the Articles of which are of so singular a kind, that they perhaps are not to be paralleled in History; for they seem rather as so many Conditions granted by the Conqueror to a City that surrenders, than those it prescribes to it self, and forces the Enemy to accept.

Marquiss *de Villars*, who had been absent from the Court some Years, desired leave to spend a Fortnight in it. He met with a very gracious Reception from his Majesty, who appeared extremely well satisfied with his Services.

One of his first Endeavours was, to secure the Friendship of Marquiss *de Barbefieux*, who, tho' very young, was the only Minister for War, and consequently had it in his Power either to do great

1691. Service or no less Prejudice. Marquiss *de Villars* had a perfect Harmony with him at first, but a few Months after, two or three of his Favourites growing jealous of Marquiss *de Villars*, this Friendship changed to so violent a Hatred, that he very narrowly escaped being totally ruined by this young Minister.

During Marquiss *de Villars's* short stay at Court, he received Advice of the Death of *Abbé de Villars* his Brother, who had just quitted the general Agency of the Clergy. He died young, in *Florence*. He was a Person of a distinguished Merit in his Profession, and his rare Talents would soon have raised him to the chief Employments of it. These two Brothers had always the strongest Friendship for each other, and Marquiss *de Villars* was always sensibly affected with his Death.

He returned into *Flanders*, which Marquiss *de Boufflers* quitted a few Days after; and, during his Absence, left him the general Command over the Frontier, which Marquiss *de Villars* went and visited. At *Tournay*, he received the Prince Royal of *Denmark*, who afterwards succeeded to the Throne. This Prince was then on his Travels, and was treated with the utmost Magnificence by Marquiss *de Villars*.

Marquiss

Marquifs *de Villars* took up his Quar- 1691.  
ters at *Ypres*, where Marquifs *de Boufflers*,  
at his return from Court, came to him,  
when some Letters brought thither by a  
Courier, gave him great Uneasiness. He  
was ordered to surprize *Ostend*; a Project,  
formed by some Engineers, and sent to  
Marshal *de Luxemburg*; who, not loving  
Marquifs *de Boufflers*, was very well plea-  
sed to employ him on a very dangerous  
Enterprize. The Marshal threw him  
thereby into a great Dilemma, *viz.* either  
to refuse a Commission the King gave  
him, or to attempt a most difficult and  
hazardous Enterprize. In this Perplexity  
he consulted Marquifs *de Villars*. They  
examined all the Plans of this Design,  
without omitting any of the Expedients  
which might render it practicable. They  
would be obliged to cross two Arms of  
the Sea; and it was necessary that it  
should be Ebb just at dark Night, with-  
out which it would be impossible for them  
to approach unperceived; and, besides  
this critical Hour to favour them, they  
were to cross very narrow *Downs*, which  
extended to the Foot of the Bastion, up  
which they would be obliged to climb;  
and which, the Persons who gave the Ad-  
vice, declared was very ill guarded. This  
double Obstacle was too strong an Argu-




1691. ment against the Enterprize ; and it was  
 judged impracticable, because of the  
 Length of the Way, and the Difficulty of  
 the Passages. Marquiss *de Boufflers* proved  
 the Impossibility of succeeding in this At-  
 tempt, and his Majesty approved the Rea-  
 sons.

The Contributions had been very well  
 settled last Winter, so that the Army  
 might lie still this Season. Marshal *de*  
*Luxemburg*, who after the Death of Mar-  
 quiss *de Louvois* his Enemy, recovered his  
 Credit with the King, named the general  
 Officers for the Army of *Flanders*. He had  
 endeavoured, the preceeding Campaign,  
 to dispossess Marquiss *de Villars* of his  
 Command in *Flanders*, but the King  
 would not agree to it. The Marshal  
 therefore sought another Opportunity,  
 and made, the want the Army of *Germany*  
 was in for a General of Horse, a pretext  
 for it.

Count *d' Auvergne*, Colonel-General of  
 the Horse, having desired to go and com-  
 mand that of *Flanders* ; being besides, a  
 Friend of Marshal *de Luxemburg*, who  
 was reconciled to all who had been Mr.  
*de Louvois's* Enemies ; Marquiss *de Villars*  
 was ordered, so early as *April*, to prepare  
 for the Campaign in *Germany*. He spent  
 three Weeks either at *Paris* or the Court ;  
 and





and afterwards went to the Camp at *Flon- 1690.*  
*heim* near *Mentz*, where *Marquiss de Lorge*   
had assembled his Army.

The same Year died *Marquiss de Louvois*, the mention of whom we have reserved for this Place. He had for some time been very much at Variance with *Madam de Maintenon*, who had the entire Confidence of his Majesty. *Mr. de Louvois* was a very indifferent Courtier, and often combatted, without the least Ceremony, the Sentiments of that Lady, as well as oppose the Protections she granted; so that he often took notice (as he was transacting Affairs of State in concert with the King, which was always done in *Madam Maintenon's* Apartment) of his Majesty's Animosity to him, which was so much the more insupportable, as he imagined he had done great Services.


One Day the King spoke in such harsh Terms to him, that *Louvois* rose up hastily, and throwing down some Papers, cried, *'Tis impossible for a Man to serve you.* His Majesty rose also, and went towards the Chimney, where he usually laid his Hat and Cane. *Madam de Maintenon*, imagining that, as he went up to the Place where his Cane lay, he possibly might make use of it, ran up to him. This Precaution was needless with regard to a  
K 4 Prince,

1691. Prince, whose Wisdom and Moderation were well known. *Louvois* left the Room, firmly resolved to resign his Employment; but *Madam de Maintenon* writ to him next Morning, and desired him to come in the Afternoon, at the Hour he usually transacted Business in her Apartment; and then, not to complain or excuse himself to his Majesty; in a word, not to discover any thing in his Behaviour, which might recall what had happened the Evening before. But *Louvois* was extremely afflicted. He was drinking the *de Forges* Waters; and going to the Palace, at three in the Afternoon to do Business, he was taken ill; returned home that instant; set down as soon as he was got in, and crying, *I am out of Order*, immediately expired. *Fagon*, who afterwards was his Majesty's chief Physician, was of Opinion that *Louvois* had been poisoned; however, this was not the general Belief. The King made young *Barbesieux*, then but seventeen or eighteen, Secretary at War. Mr. *de Torcy*, who was scarce older, was in the same Employment for foreign Affairs, which made the Prince of *Orange* say, that he was surprized his Majesty had such antiquated She-Friends, and such young Ministers. We don't mention the Character or Talents of Mr. *de Louvois* in this

this Place, as we have already spoke so largely of him in the Course of these Memoirs. 1691. 

At the opening of the following Campaign in *Germany*, an Affair happened of a very singular kind, relating to some Deserters. A Brigadier belonging to *de Souternon's* Regiment fled to the Enemy; and informed them that a pretty considerable Convoy was coming from *Alséy* to the Army. The Enemy, upon this Advice, ordered a thousand Horse from *Mentz*, in order to attack the Convoy. At the same time, a Hussar deserted, from the Enemy, to us, and informed us of their Design upon our Convoy. Immediately a Detachment was ordered out, to secure the march, when the Head of our Detachment met that of the Enemy, and defeated the first Troop, in which *Souternon's* Brigadier engaged. He was taken with a small Number of Troopers, and was broke alive upon the Wheel the next Day. Thus, this reciprocal Desertion endangered and saved our Convoy. 1692. 

Some Days after, upon Advice that a considerable Part of the Enemy's Army, which was on the other Side of the *Rhine*, had crost it at *Mentz*; Marshal *de Lorge*, who put great Confidence in *Melac*, a Marshal de Camp, sent him with five

1692.  hundred Horse to make exact Enquiry whether the Enemy had cross'd at *Mentz*, as was reported. Nothing could be more easily known, since 'tis impossible for a little Army consisting of Infantry, Cavalry, and Ordnance, to conceal it self after having past the *Rhine*. Nevertheless, *Melac*, relying on a Magistrate of the Country who imposed upon him, came back and assured Marshal *de Lorge* that it was a false Report. A Quarter of an Hour after, Advice came, that the Report was not only true, but that this little Army was marching towards *Worms* with the utmost speed. *Melac* was ashamed, and breathed his Fury in the most dreadful Oaths, with which it was customary with him to frighten the Vulgar.

The Character of this general Officer is so uncommon, that it may be very proper to give some little Account of it. He was a Man of Sense, valiant, and had behaved very gallantly as a Partizan, till he was raised to the Post of Colonel. But his good Qualities were sullied by very great Faults; among others, he was fond of passing for an Atheist; and maintained that there was no such Being as the Devil, because (as he said) he had used his utmost Endeavours to have a Correspondence with him, but without Success.


Marshal



Marshal *de Duras* had set him at the Head <sup>1692.</sup> of those horrid Conflagrations, which lasted two Years. He had executed this barbarous Commission with inflexible Rigour; insomuch that all the *German* Peasants took him for a Wizard, and his very Name was become a Terror to Nations. Contented with this evil Reputation, he at last was negligent of that of being terrible to the Enemy's Forces. He took a delight, in intimidating our Intendants, in appearing always in a Rage, and used to lie with two large Wolves, purposely to give himself an Air of Ferocity. In a Word, he was one of those odd Characters, which do very little service to their Sovereign or the General.

The false Advice he gave us with respect to the Enemy's March, saved them; for this little Army of eight or ten thousand Men passed in Flank, during a March of ten Leagues, by the whole Army of his Majesty, which having an Opportunity of marching up to the Enemy over very fine Plains, might have quite overpowered them, and cut them all off. They even might have been easily defeated after their arrival at *Worms*, where their intent was, to secure the Head of a Bridge, which was not finished till the Day after; and consequently, they were



1692.  whole Day without having any Communication with the main Body of their Army, which marched forward, in proportion as they advanced, on the other Side of the *Rhine*. Their Design was, to draw us out of the Lower *Palatinate*, and to engage us to advance towards *Philipsburg* and *Landaw*.

We had an advanced Post at *Worms*, in a Church lying in ruins, where *Lescossois*, a Lieutenant-Colonel of *Normandy*, commanded with three hundred Men. This Post was attacked, and bravely defended by *Lescossois*, who after killing four or five hundred of the Enemy, was forced to surrender.

The King's Army left *Flonheim*, and marched through the Plains. Had they gone after the Enemy, they might have attacked them with great Advantage; for their Bridge was not yet built, and consequently they had not yet joined their main Army, which was on the other Side of the *Rhine*. But we were resolved not to come to Action; and the Day after, had it not been for Marquiss *de Villars's* Vivacity and Application, three thousand Horse commanded by Count *de Lippe*, would not have suffered so much for that Officer's Indiscretion, in advancing too near to the King's Army. Count *de Lippe*,  
who

who in all probability supposed that it was <sup>1692.</sup> at some Distance, crossed before Day, the Rivulet of *Phedersheim*, which lay between us and the Enemy; when Marquiss *de Villars* going up to the Guards of Horse, found them within three hundred Paces of this Body of the Enemy: Our Dragoons had mounted their Horses without being ordered, and our Guards were sustained by three Squadrons of Cavalry. Thus, Marquiss *de Villars* found fifteen Squadrons ready to engage at the very instant that the Enemy, knowing that the King's Army was in their Camp, and consequently that they had committed a capital Error in crossing the Rivulet, were now endeavouring to repass it with the utmost Diligence.

Marquiss *de Villars* took Advantage of this Opportunity, and in a Moment, commanded the two Squadrons of Dragoons to extend towards the Left, and to issue from a hollow which covered them, in order to make the Enemy believe, that Troops advanced from a great many Places, and that the King's Army was in Motion. He now marched towards the Enemy with the Remainder; came up with them when about half had crossed; put a great Number to the Sword, and took

1692. took upwards of three hundred Prisoners, among whom were two Colonels.

Two Days after, Marquiss *de Lorge* took a ride upon the Hills about *Phedersheim*, attended by most of the general Officers. He knew that most of the Army had murmured, for his not attacking the Enemy. The Marshal was desirous of showing that this could not easily have been done; and the Officers who accompanied him, only answered him in such Terms as were due to his Employment. But about the same time, the Enemy surprized one of our Couriers. They opened our Letters, and sent back to Marshal *de Lorge* that written by the Intendant *Lafont*, which declared naturally enough, what almost the whole Army thought with regard to the Possibility of defeating this Body of the Enemy, which repassed the *Rhine*; and which, a few Days after, passed it again at *Spires*, with the rest of the Army.

That of the King was joined by a pretty considerable Body of *Irish* in our Service, whom Marquiss *d'Huxelles* marched back from *Brisac*; and some Skirmishes were fought in the neighbourhood of the Ruins of *Spires*, possessed by the Enemy; but, as was before observed, we did not desire to come to Action. The Imperial Army, commanded by the Landgrave

grave of *Hesse*, and Marquiss *de Bareith*, in <sup>1692.</sup> whom they had very little Confidence; and with whom, all the rest of the Generals, particularly some other *German* Princes, were not a little disgusted, were likewise unwilling to fight, so that the Armies only moved up and down, without having any particular Object in View. The Hussars, only advanced near his Majesty's Army, and annoyed our Guards and Foragers. As Marquiss *de Villars* had served in the Emperour's Armies, he knew better than any other Person the military Disposition peculiar to this kind of Troops, viz. to very seldom attack such Bodies as keep together, but to charge vigorously all such as separate from them. This was of Advantage to him in the present Juncture. One Day, finding our Foragers briskly charged by the Hussars, he brought up two Troops of the Gendarmerie in the midst of them. *Charron* a Sub-Lieutenant of the *Scotch* Guards, flew to him, and declared, that he was going to destroy their Gendarmes. Sir, answered Mr. *de Villars*, *When I am at a Loss what to do in a Morning, 'tis a Pleasure to me to have twelve or fifteen Gendarmes lose their Lives. Learn*, continued he, *how to fight against Hussars*. At the same time, he put himself at the Head of the



1692. the two Troops of Gendarmerie ; made them present their Musquetoons, and cried, *Let no one fire, without my particular Orders.* He afterwards commanded those who were the best Marksmen, to level, with a pretty good Charge, against such of the Hussars as should advance nearest to them. By this Method, he repulsed the most intrepid Hussars ; after which he commanded one of the two Troops of Gendarmerie to post themselves two hundred Paces behind him ; and he himself retired with the first, ordering them to fire from Time to Time, but without suffering any one to leave the Ranks. By this means he rejoined the main of the Escort ; saved the Forragers, and gave a Lesson to the Horse, with regard to the Conduct necessary to be observed in presence of Enemies, who are well known to be as unwilling to attack a Body of Troops together, as they are desirous of pursuing such as separate, in their view, from their main Body.

A few Days after, the King's Army crossed the *Rhine*, that of the Enemy being separated by Quarters behind *Phortseim*. The Duke of *Wirtemberg*, only, posted himself, with three thousand Horse, two Leagues on the hither Side of this little City, imagining he was able to defend his Post,



Post, or else should have time to retire. <sup>1691.</sup>  
The former was impossible; but the latter  
was in his own Power, as the whole Ar-  
my marched in the day time. Marquiss *de*  
*Villars*, being persuaded that the Enemy  
would not wait our coming up, desired  
Marshal *de Lorge* to allow him two thou-  
sand Horse, merely to amuse them. How-  
ever, these were refused him; our Generals  
not being willing to surprize so frank and  
ingenuous an Enemy, or rather, one who  
was so little skilled in matters of War.  
The Duke was excessively weak on this  
occasion, since he did not attempt to re-  
tire, till his Majesty's Army, which had  
marched with great Gravity in six Co-  
lumn's, was come to the Bank of the Ri-  
vulet which separated it from us. He  
then precipitated his Retreat. Marquiss  
*de Villars*, Counts *Tallard* and *de Coigny*  
put themselves at the Head of the most  
advanced Troops, when they crossed the  
Rivulet in several Places, and this Action  
was not a Fight, but a Party of Hunt-  
ing. Upwards of five hundred Men were  
killed on the spot; a greater Number were  
taken, and the Duke of *Wirtemberg* fell  
into the Hands of Marquiss *de Villars*,  
who, at the return of the Armies of *Hun-*  
*gary*, had lived with him, two Years  
before, and was vastly intimate with him.  
'Twas

1692. 'Twas a great Consolation to this Prince, to find himself safe, and among Persons with whom he was acquainted.

He staid seven or eight Days in the King's Army, after which Orders were sent to bring him to Court. During this little Interval, he told Marquiss *de Villars* the many Errors which the Enemy's Generals had committed. Among other Circumstances, he said, that their Army having crossed the *Rhine* at *Spire*, a warm Contest arose between the Landgrave of *Hesse* and Marquiss *de Bareith*. Each having the chief Command over the Right as well as Left Wing, both were determined to have that of the Right. To reconcile them, this Expedient was at last found out, viz. to say, *two Bodies*, without employing the Words, *Right* or *Left*. The Duke of *Wirtemberg* assured Marquiss *de Villars*, that going to compliment these two Generals on this happy Expedient which had put an end to their Contest, said to them; *Gentlemen; you have made two Bodies, could not you procure a Head?*

After the Defeat of the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, the Enemy's Army came near to the *Lower Necker*, and left us at Liberty to extend the Contributions as far as we pleased. Parties were sent very far up in  
the

the Country, and as they were rejoining the Army, Advice was brought that the Landgrave of *Hesse* had invested *Eberburg*. Marshal *de Lorge* marched to Succour it; and Marquiss *de Villars* desired of him two thousand Horse, in order to march with Diligence towards an Enemy, who, in all probability, would raise the Siege at the Arrival of the King's Army; and who, not being disturbed nor checked in his Motions, by the Approach of the Head of an Army, would have leisure to retire unmolested. However, the Marshal refused the Proposal, and the whole Army set out; the Cavalry being in the Van-guard, and marching in two Columns.

In this march of the Horse, a Circumstance happened of so singular a Nature, that it deserves to be related. The Night was very dark. After we had crossed the Rivulet of *Phedersheim*, we came into a Plain above four Leagues in length, and the Columns consisted of near fifty Squadrons each, marching forward in the same Proportion. Now it so happened, that the Column to the Right was wholly to the Left, and that of the Left to the Right, without any one Squadron crossing the other; so that the Column to the Right, hearing the march of a great Body  
of

1692. of Forces, where none were expected, imagined that the Enemy had crossed at *Mentz*, and were advancing towards us. However, it was soon found that all were Friends, but no one could conceive how so extraordinary a Movement had happened; nor how it was possible fifty Squadrons to pass from Right to Left, without perceiving it themselves. One of the Columns must certainly have halted; whilst the other, moving imperceptibly to the Right, must have changed Places with them.

At Day-break, we heard that the Siege of *Eberbury* was raised, and that the Landgrave of *Hesse* was retiring with precipitation and disorder towards *Benguen*, where he had a Bridge cross the *Rhine*.

The Campaign ended with the last Movement, and Marquiss *de Villars*, being appointed to go and command in *Flanders*, took the Court in his way. During the three Weeks he continued in it, the King was pleased to give him Testimonies of the Satisfaction his Services gave him.

1693. The Year 1693 began with the Siege of *Furnes*, which Marquiss *de Boufflers* attempted in the Beginning of the Year, and in extreme bad Weather. Marquiss *de Villars* was commanded to observe the  
Motions



Motions of the Enemy, in order to cover <sup>1691.</sup> such of his Majesty's Countries as were not subject to Contribution; and, at the same time, secure the Enterprize of *Furnes*. For this purpose he marched towards *Courtray*, posting himself between the *Scheld* and the *Lys*, till he might see how the Enemy would act, upon receiving Advice of *Furnes* being invested.

The Elector of *Bavaria* seemed at first, by some Motions of the Garrisons of *Brussels*, *Namur*, and *Ghent*, determined to march to *Courtray*, which obliged Marquiss *de Villars* to continue in the neighbourhood of that Town. But upon the Elector's resolving to march to *Newport*, to attempt the Relief of *Furnes*, Marquiss *de Villars* advanced with great Diligence towards *Dunkirk*. In his march, 'twas confirmed to him, that the Elector of *Bavaria* was assembling all his Forces at *Newport*. Marquiss *de Villars* hastened, with the Head of his Troops, to *Dunkirk*; and went in Person to *Furnes*, the Avenues to which he found so well guarded against the Enemy, that he did not doubt of the speedy and certain Success of the Enterprize; and accordingly the Town surrendered the 7<sup>th</sup> of *January*. 'Twas horrid Weather, and the *Dutch* Garrison was scarce able to cross the Camp, the  
Floods



1693. Floods covering every Part, and the  
Trenches being full of Water; Circumstances which ought to have made the Enemy a little ashamed of the poor Defence they made.


The King had given Marquifs *de Villars*, during this whole Expedition, the general Command of all the Forces that might be drawn from the *Maes*, and the several Garrisons of *Flanders*, in order that he might employ them, as might be requisite, to secure his Lines, *Courtray* and the Frontiers; and likewise to reinforce the Army of Marquifs *de Boufflers*, whose Orders he was to obey.

The Enemy having abandoned *Dixmude*, Marquifs *de Villars* threw immediately five hundred Men into it, and afterwards a Body of Troops strong enough to defend it. The Siege of *Furnes* being ended, Marquifs *de Boufflers* was ordered to come to Court; and the Command in *Flanders*, during his Absence, was given to Marquifs *de Villars*.

He then received Advice, that his Majesty had appointed him Lieutenant-General; and a few Days after, that he was ordered to serve in that Quality in the Army of *Germany*, and to command the Horse there.

The King at the same time, advanced <sup>1693.</sup> seven Officers to the Dignity of Marshals of *France*, viz. *Messieurs de Choiseuil, de Joyeuse, de Villeroi, de Tourville, de Noailles, de Boufflers, and de Catinat*; all Persons of Merit, but who had never won a single Battle, or even commanded at any great Action, *de Tourville* and *Catinat* excepted. The former was Vice-Admiral, and considered as one of the ablest Sea-Officers of his Time; the latter, who had gained the Battle of *Stafarda*, was a plain, modest Man, and remarkable for his Humility, which had contributed greatly to his Rise. He even refused; after his being promoted to the Post of Marshal of *France*, to be Knight of the Order, with much less Justice than many others, who nevertheless had not refused to accept of it, in the last Promotion.

Marshals *de Joyeuse* and *de Choiseuil*, Men of exalted Birth, and very brave, had lived till the Age of Sixty-five or Sixty-six, in subaltern Employments, in which, those who spend so many Years, scarce ever attain that Elevation, that Genius for commanding, and Strength of Mind, so necessary for commanding at the Helm with Dignity and Success. We even have often seen those who shone in the second Employments, sink under the Weight

1691.  Weight of that Decision to which the Man who enjoys the supreme Command is obliged ; and that, sometimes, against the Counsels of most of the Officers in his Army.

Marshal *de Villeroi* was naturally courageous ; had a majestic Air which claimed Respect, and was possessed of the several Talents requisite in a Courtier ; but he had little Success in the Field, which the Chevalier *de Lorraine*, his Relation, had strongly urged him to quit. The King had a great Affection for him, and so much the more, as he had been educated near his Person, as his Governour's Son. This Friendship, which began in Infancy, was now become almost natural ; and possibly it might have quite erased the Love his Majesty bore the Duke *de Rochefaucault*, had not the constant Assiduity of the latter, and the Gallantry of the former, (which would not permit him to attend so diligently on his Majesty) given the Duke *de la Rochefaucault*, an Air of Superiority, with regard to the Royal Favour.

Marshal *de Boufflers* was a Man of prodigious Courage, and infinite Application. His Zeal for the Service ; his Attachment to the Generals under whom he had fought ; and his Merit which had displayed


played it self in a great many particular 1693. Occasions, won him their Esteem. He would never rely solely on his Knowledge; but endeavoured to surmount, by an Application both of Body and Mind above the Strength of Man, those Particulars in which he imagined the Vivacity and superior Genius of his Collegues gave them an Advantage over him.

Marshal *de Noailles*, who, taught by his Father to be very assiduous about the King, was nevertheless resolved to enter into the Service, and he aspired to the highest military Employments. However, his Infirmities obliged him to quit it pretty early, and would not suffer him to continue the Functions of the Dignity he had obtained.

To return to Marquis *de Villars*; the instant he was appointed to serve in the Army of *Germany*, he left *Flanders*, and went and spent three Weeks at Court. He was ordered to go upon the *Rhine* the 15<sup>th</sup> of *May*.

The Campaign opened with the Siege of *Heidleberg*, the Castle of which only could make any Resistance, and that made but a weak one. The Governour, who was Commander of the *Teutonic* Order, surrendered the seventh Day. To punish him for his ill Defence, he was  
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1693.  tryed by the Enemy, in a Court Martial, and sentenced to be degraded of his Arms; a kind of Infamy, more dreadful than Death itself to a Man of Honour. Our Troops plundered and burnt the City of *Heidelberg*, in spite of the Endeavours used by the Officers to prevent this Calamity; but it must be confessed, that the Soldiers of this Army were inexpressibly licentious. Marquiss *de Villars* spoke to all the Regiments of Horse, and declared, that if they did not behave more discreetly for the future, they should be punished with greater Severity.

The Army crossed the *Necker*, and was commanded to go in search of the Enemy. We advanced as far as *Suengemberg*; and two thousand of the Enemy's Horse which stood in order of Battle behind the Rivulet of that Name, and seemed a Rear-guard, or large Party to reconnoitre our Army, might have suffered very much. We need but have seized the Moment in which the Head of the King's Army came up; for the instant the Enemy had found the Danger they were in, they would have been obliged to make a sudden Retreat.

At the same Time, his Majesty sent the Dauphin, with a considerable Detachment of the Army of *Flanders*, to command that of *Germany*; and to enable it,  
by



by so great a Reinforcement, to charge <sup>1693.</sup> that of the Emperour with vigour, and give Laws to the Empire. These Advantages might be expected from the King's Army, because of its Superiority, for Bravery as well as Numbers, over that of the Prince of *Baden*. But then we ought to have attacked them immediately after the Junction; and not have let slip ten or twelve Days, which that General employed to great Advantage in fortifying his Camp near *Hailborn*; and which likewise gave some Troops, who were at a great Distance, time to join.

In fine, at Day-break, his Majesty's Army marched towards that of the Enemy, and placed themselves, on all Sides, within Musket-shot of their Lines, and at the same time in hollow Ways, where they were very little annoyed by the Enemy's Cannon. We found that their Right extended towards the Village of *Southaim* near *Hailbron*, their Center at *Thailaim*, and their Left returning towards *Hailbron*, so that they were encamped almost in a circular Form. Their Intrenchments, which they had begun but three Days before, were in very good Condition. They had improved the natural Advantages of their Post, with all the Art possible, and laid out their Ground like skil-

1693. ful Soldiers, so that, no one thought it  
 would be possible to force them, and the  
 Army returned into their Camp about  
 eight in the Evening.

We received Advice by several Persons, that the greatest Part of their Forces did not join but four Days before; and that they did not begin to intrench themselves till two Days before the Arrival of the King's Army; an evident Proof that they would not have kept their Post, had we marched up to them as soon as we might have done.

Marshal *de Lorge*, fearing he should be blamed for the five or six Days which had been lost; and which, had we marched faster, would not have suffered the Prince of *Baden* to wait our coming up, proposed several Expedients to streighten the Enemy, and cut off their Communications. These Designs, difficult in themselves, surprized the Dauphin's Court. Marshal *de Choiseuil* was the first who declared publicly, that these things were not practicable: Marquiss *d'Huxelles* was of the same Opinion: The rest of the Lieutenant-Generals were not consulted; and the Advice of most of those who were near the Dauphin's Person, was decisive, in which, a Desire of returning speedily to *Versailles* had the chief Part. Marquiss  
*de*

*de Boufflers*, being undetermined, would 1693.  
not go against the Stream; and now the  
Army thought of nothing but of regain-  
ing the *Rhine*.

In the mean Time, News was brought of the Battle of *Nerwinde*, and that the Army under the Prince of *Orange* (King *William*) had been forced in their Intrenchments by those of the King, which nevertheless were not designed for such great Exploits as that of *Germany*, strengthened by the Flower of the Troops of *Flanders*; and whom, the Presence of the Dauphin, ought to have animated. An Action so glorious to the Forces of his Majesty and to the General, ought naturally to have made us regret our Inactivity; but we were determined to do nothing, and such Regrets did not produce a Change.

An Army, under the Command of the Dauphin, and in presence of three Marshals of *France*, was seen to behave in the most dissolute, abandoned manner. All the Forces straggled about in Parties, setting fire to the Villages and little Cities. A considerable Number of Soldiers were buried in the Ruins made by the Flames, and others in Cellars stocked with Wine. Nevertheless the Soldiers were often punished, and sometimes twenty were hang-

1693. ed up in a Day. But when a General  
 neglects to establish a severe Discipline at  
 first, the most cruel Examples are of no  
 service afterwards.

The Gendarmerie followed the Dau-  
 phin, and were commanded to march  
 with the utmost Diligence into *Italy*, to  
 reinforce Marshal *de Catinat's* Army,  
 which they joined two Days before the  
 Battle of *Marsala*.

In the mean Time, the King's Forces  
 posted themselves in the neighbourhood  
 of *Brisac*, till orders should come for their  
 breaking up. Marquiss *de Villars* desired  
 Leave to go for a Fortnight into *Dau-*  
*phiné*, to thank one of his Relations who  
 had freely given him his whole Estate.  
 The asking Leave of the Minister of  
 War, by declaring that 'twas with a view  
 of returning the sooner to whatever Com-  
 mand his Majesty should please to give  
 Marquiss *de Villars* during the Winter,  
 denoted plainly that he hoped, that he  
 desired, and even depended upon being  
 employed during the Winter, as he had  
 been for some Years before.

But Marquiss *de Barbesieux* hated Mar-  
 quiss *de Villars*, and desired to favour  
 Count *de Montrevel*, who was very inti-  
 mate with a Family, in which liv'd a  
 Lady, with whom the Minister of War  
 was

was violently in Love. He therefore <sup>1693.</sup> formed a Design to ruin Marquifs *de Villars*, when, addreffing himfelf for that purpofe to his Father at *Fontainebleau*, where the Court was at that time; two Days before his Majefty appointed the feveral Commands for the Winter, he faid to him : *How does your Son manage his Affairs? He is carried every Year from Flanders to Germany with all his Equipage. Has he Money enough to fupport his Expence in Taverns? As he does not poffefs a Government, 'tis impoffible for him to ferve in the Manner he does.* Marquifs *de Villars's* Father did but barely acquiefce with this Affertion, when Mr. *de Barbefieux* went that Moment, and repeated it very maliciously to the King; as tho' Marquifs *de Villars* had really refufed to ferve, unlefs a Government were given him. But his Majefty was not to be moved by fuch Arts. The Command of *Flanders* was taken from Marquifs *de Villars* and beftowed on Count *de Montrevel*. The Lift of the Generals, who were to be employed the next Winter, appeared the Day after. Marquifs *de Villars's* Father, not feeing his Son's Name in it, was immediately fenfible of the Minifter's Perfidy; when acquainting his Majefty with it, he answered with an Air of the utmoft Cold-

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nefs,



1693. nefs, *That he had more General-Officers*  
*than he could employ.*

Very happily for Marquifs *de Villars*, his Father received a Letter from him the same Day, by which he informed him, that as he hoped his Majesty would do him the Honour to employ him as he had done the preceeding Winters, he therefore had desired a Permission of Marquifs *de Barbesieux*; in order that he might take Advantage of the Time of Quarters of Forrage, and have an Opportunity of going into *Flanders*, where he intended to serve in the Beginning of *November*. Marquifs *de Villars's* Father, intreated *Niel*, the King's first Valet-de-Chambre, to prevail with his Majesty to cast his Eye on that Letter. At the same time, he related the several Words Marquifs *de Barbesieux* had spoke to him; the Answer he made to them, and which that Minister had repeated to the King, as tho' *Villars's* Father had heard his Son use those very Expressions. Mr. *Niel*, (a Man of strict Honour) who saw clearly thro' the Artifices of Mr. *de Barbesieux*, pursuant to the Sentiments of Virtue which were natural to himself, read Marquifs *de Villars's* Letter to his Majesty. The King heard it with Satisfaction, and the very next Day declared to Marquifs *de Barbesieux*, that he would bestow

flow the Government of *Friburg* and *Bris-<sup>1693.</sup>*  
*gaw* on Marquiss *de Villars*. The Reader  
 may easily figure to himself the Surprize  
 the Minister was in, to see so considerable  
 an Employment given to a Man, whom  
 he fancied was compleatly ruined by his  
 Arts. The Day following, the King said  
 again to *Barbesieux*, *Villars must not be idle.*  
*Send a Courier to him in Dauphiné, where*  
*I know he is, and order him to set out to my*  
*Army in Italy.*

We must relate, in one and the same  
 Place, the several Things which passed  
 with regard to Marquiss *de Villars*. The  
 Minister could never prevail with himself  
 to send him Advice, not even by the  
 Courier he dispatched to hasten his Depar-  
 ture for *Italy*, that his Majesty had given  
 him a Government. Thus, Marquiss *de*  
*Villars* not being informed of it by the  
 Minister of War, (the Instrument thro'  
 which the King's Will should naturally  
 be conveyed) still doubted the Truth of  
 what his Father had informed him by Let-  
 ter, and for that Reason did not dare to  
 thank his Majesty. However, as the  
 whole Court complimented him on that  
 Occasion, he wrote a Letter to the King,  
 inclosed in another to his Father; but not  
 the least notice was taken of it, by Mar-  
 quiss *de Barbesieux*.

1693. The Campaign ended in *Italy* sooner than the King had hoped or expected; when, retaining a favourable Remembrance of *Villars*, whom he was determined not to leave idle during the Winter, he ordered *Barbesieux* to give him a Commission to visit all the Cavalry from *Savoy* to *Flanders*, passing thro' *Franche Comté*, *Alsatia* and *Lorrain*.

But *Barbesieux* did not send him this Commission, so that *Marquiss de Villars* returned to Court, where his Father, hearing of the Orders his Son should have received, did not expect to see him. *What do you come to Court for*, said he to him? *The King has appointed you to go and visit the Cavalry*. *Marquiss de Villars* answered very naturally, that, he had not heard of any such Commission, he returned with Pleasure to *Paris*, with an intent to spend the Winter in that City. His Father found by these Words, a Continuation of the Minister's Malice, who, after taking no notice of the Government which had been bestowed upon his Son, had also concealed the Order given him to visit the Cavalry. He therefore advised *Marquiss de Villars* to begin first by informing the King of it. Accordingly he spoke to him, and said to his Majesty, that, how impatient soever he might be to wait upon him,  
and

and return him thanks in Person, for the <sup>1693.</sup> Favours he had been pleased to bestow upon him, especially the two different Commissions by which he was appointed to serve his Majesty, a Happiness he preferred to all Things; still, his Impatience would have yielded to his Duty, by obeying the Orders sent him to visit the Cavalry, had such Orders ever come to his Hands. The King answered him in the mildest Terms, that a small Journey would not break squares. *No Sir*, answered *Villars*; *I have not received the Order: It will come to my Hands, but I shall not forget to open it before Witnesses.* The Day after, *Villars* walking in the Guard Room of the Palace, with old Duke d'*Aumont* and Mr. *de Vauban*, one of his Servants brought a Letter from Mr. *de Barbesieux*. Immediately he desired those Gentlemen to examine very carefully, whether the Letter had been opened. They found the Seals not broke in any manner, after which, he opened the Letter before them, and found in it an Order from the King to go and visit the Cavalry during the Winter. *Villars* upon this went into his Majesty's Cabinet, took the Liberty to show him the Letter, and told him who were present at his opening it. The King said to him; *But can you believe that*

1693. *People, (meaning the Marquifs de Barbesieux) can ruin a Man whom I know fo well as I do you? Sir, replied Villars, thofe People certainly had fuch a Design, fince they had thrown me out of the Service; and I will prefume to inform your Majefty, that as a Lieutenant-General of your Armies, how zealous foever he may be in your Service, has not the Honour to fpeak to you above once or twice in a Year, he thereby is expofed to great Danger, whenever the Minifter who fpeaks to you daily, is determined to ruin him.*

But 'tis time to return to the feveral Things that paff during the fhort ftay Marquifs de Villars made in *Italy*. We were willing to relate, in its order, the Particulars of the Court-Adventure abovementioned, which is not the only one of the kind in which Marquifs de Villars was engaged.

After the happy Succels of the Battle of *Marfala*, the King was determined to be-fiege *Conio*, and to order his Army to Winter in *Italy*. But Marquifs de Catinat found this impracticable, and thereupon fent Lieutenant-General *Larrey* to Court, in order to demonftrate the Impossibility of it. Nevertheless, the King perfifted in his Refolution, and made *Chamlai* (one in whom he reposed the greateft Confidence)



dence) to examine, in Person, whether <sup>1693.</sup> the several Difficulties started by Marshal *de Catinat*, had any Foundation. *Chamblai* joyned in Opinion with the Marshal, so that upon Marquiss *de Villars's* Arrival in *Italy*, he found that a Resolution had been taken to return into *France*. However, for his own Satisfaction, and to take Advantage of his Leisure, he visited the Country, and took a view of *Fossano*, *Savigliano*, *Raconia*, *Saluzzo*, and other Towns. The Country abounded with Corn and Forrage; the Enemy's Army was dispersed; *Pignerol* had been victualled on one Side, a spacious Place of Arms on the other Side of the Mountains, very proper to sustain advanced Heads of Winter-Quarters. *Susa* on another Side, and all the Valley. Marquiss *de Villars* was of Opinion, that it would be proper to carry the Contributions very far up into the open Countries, but the General thought otherwise. The Resolution was already taken; and Marquiss *de Villars's* Representations, which would only have exasperated the General to no purpose, were very moderate.

Our Forces were now guilty of the most shocking Disorders. Several small Cities were burnt; *Revel*, in which was an Abbey, inhabited by fifty young Maidens

1693. dens of the best Families in *Piedmont*, suffered all the Horrors which the Dissoluteness and Insolence of the Soldiers can occasion. After these scandalous Expeditions; and after having laid waste a Country of which a much better use might have been made, the Army repassed the Mountains, and Marquiss *de Villars* returned to Court.

In returning by *Vienne*, he found his Uncle, the Archbishop, very ill. However, as the Physicians assured him that he was not in any danger, he continued his Journey. This kind Prelate indulged all his Affection to *Villars*; but being urged, in his expiring Moments, to make his Will, the following Words only could be got from him; *I leave all to my Nephew*. As he had more Nephews than *Villars*, he did not inherit any part of his Estate, tho' it had been said, that he should owe his whole Fortune to his Uncle.

Marquiss *de Villars* staid but a Fortnight at Court, when Mr. *de Barbesieux* gave him fresh Proofs of his Aversion. Upon pretence that his Majesty had appointed so great a Number of Provinces to Marquiss *de Villars*, that it would be impossible for him to visit, during the Winter, all the Cavalry dispersed in them; he desired that Count *de Marcin* might share

share that Commission with him. 'Twas <sup>1693.</sup> not in the Minister's Power to injure the Marquiss any otherwise than by such little Disappointments; for as he was possessed of a considerable Government, enjoyed several Pensions, and had a high Employment in the Army; those who envied him could do little more than lessen the Merits of his Services.

This Year ended with the bombarding of *St. Malo*. The *English* had been long projecting this Expedition, and the Preparations for it were dreadful. The bare Name of *infernal Machine* given to a Ship that was to set every Thing in Flames; made the World form a dreadful Idea of this Armament. However, the Success did not answer the Hopes the Enemy had conceived from it; and this mighty Armada which cost the *English* immense Sums, did very little damage to *France*.

The Campaign of 1694 opened the Beginning of *June*. The Army crossed the *Rhine* at *Philipsburg*, and Marshal *de Lorge* said, his Majesty's Intentions were, that they should attack that of the Enemy. Their Army was, indeed, commanded by a very great General, (the Prince of *Baden*;) but then it was very much inferior, both in Number and Quality to that

1694. that of his Majesty. Nevertheless, the Prince of *Baden* waited our coming up near *Visloc*; and imagined he had posted himself to so much Advantage, that there was no possibility of his being forced in it.

Marshal *de Lorge* marched, *June 25*, at Day-break, to *St. Leen* and *Root*. Marquis *de Villars* was Lieutenant-General of the Day, and advanced to the Guards which *St. Fremont*, Marshal de Camp, was posting. The Enemy's Hussars attacked briskly those who were most advanced; but being sustained by three others, and by *du Chatelet* and *du Bordage's* Regiments of Horse, they repulsed the Enemy in their turn. In the mean time, our Troopers having left their Ranks in spite of the Orders, returned in some disorder. The Squadrons of *Châtelet* and *du Bordage* posted themselves in a little Plain, and the Enemy repassed the Rivulet of *Visloc*. Marshal *de Lorge* coming at the same time, would have our Troops endeavour to cross the Rivulet. Marquis *de Villars*, Messieurs *de St. Fremont* and *Barbesieres* marched at the Head of the Troops. The Passage of the Rivulet was found pretty difficult; and the Enemy making a very great Fire, Marquis *de Villars* plainly perceived, that they must  
either

either force the Passage that Moment, or <sup>1694.</sup> retire. The Prince of *Baden* headed his Troops himself; and tho' he was not resolved to venture a Battle, his Army being well posted a quarter of a League from this Place, we might nevertheless have been very easily stopt.

Marquifs *de Villars* ordered one of *Merinville's* Squadrons, commanded by *La Valette*, whom he knew was very brave, to force the Passage of the Bridge; and some Dragoons to cross the Rivulet lower down. Himself at the Head of another of *Merinville's* Squadrons, followed by *St. Fremont*, and by Marquifs *Daverne* who commanded the Dragoons of the Army, plunged into the Rivulet, whose great Depth and oozy Bottom was very inconvenient to the Soldiers; drove upon the Enemy, killed great Numbers, and repulsed them almost to their Camp. Marquifs *Daverne* lost his Life in the Rivulet; *Mercy*, the Enemy's General was taken Prisoner, and fell under the Horse of Marquifs *de Villars*. He received a slight Wound.

This Action was in the whole very glorious to the King's Forces; those of the Enemy being animated by the Presence of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*. Besides, 'twas but



1694. but the Beginning of the Campaign, and  
'tis of Advantage to set out well.

In the mean time, after this little Success we resolved to repass the *Rhine*, without having any particular Design in view; and one of the finest of his Majesty's Armies, spent the rest of the Campaign, merely in consuming of Forrage; whereas, in keeping on the other Side of the *Rhine*, they were more gloriously situated; and at least, laying the whole Country under Contributions as far as beyond the Black Mountains. We even might have attempted to take *Philengen*, which would have put us in possession of the Head of the *Danube*.

Marquis *de Villars*, who was vastly zealous for his Majesty's Interest and the Glory of his Arms, and possibly more piqued than any other Man, whenever he saw Troops unactive; was not afraid of declaring, that the present Inactivity of our Forces was very prejudicial. But his Remonstrances were not acceptable, and his differing in Opinion with others, often raised him Enemies. In fine, the whole Campaign, as we before observed, was spent in consuming the Forrage; and during the last Weeks, the Cavalry suffered extremely, by their continuing generally so long encamped in the same Place.

Our

Our Tranquillity was interrupted, the <sup>1694.</sup> latter End of *September*, by the Advice brought us, that Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* had crossed the *Rhine* at *Hagenbach*, and had seized upon that City. We were not a little uneasy; and the only Thing left us to do, was, to march with the utmost Diligence, to check the Progress of the Enemy, and prevent their spreading themselves over the open Country. However, this was not their Intention; and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* seeing us employed in nothing, would amuse himself in something of a little more Consequence than nothing. This is the Character I give of a Passage, which that Prince might have made a greater Advantage of. His Army, indeed, was not powerful enough, to defend *Lutter* against us, and keep us out of *Alsatia*; this would have been too great an Attempt. But then, after he had crossed the *Rhine*, he might have detached three or four thousand Horse, and these could have scoured all *Alsatia*; have put all Things under Contribution; carried off a great Number of Magistrates and Persons of Consequence, and afterwards have returned by the way of *Rheinfeld*. The laudable *Swiss Cantons*, would not have murmured to see such a Body march a League and an half in their Territories;

1694. ritories; for both we and the Imperialists had accustomed them to greater Liberties.

We arrived at *Hagenbach*, in the very Moment that the Enemy's Rear-guard crossed the last Bridges, and took some Troopers Prisoners, with a pretty great Number of Marauders who came too late to rejoin their Army. On this occasion we saw a Thing, which, tho' common enough with regard to the ebbing and flowing of the *Rhine*, is nevertheless pretty surprizing, viz. that this River fell six Foot in four Hours.

This little Adventure being ended, all that now remained was, to separate the Army. We spread some Battalions along the *Rhine*. Marshal *de Joyeuse* marched towards the *Moselle* with the greatest Part of the Cavalry, and Count *Tallard* on the *Saare*. Marquis *de Villars*, till such time as the last Separation should be made of the Army, and the Generals dismissed, went and visited his Government of *Friburg*; Here he himself enquired, whether the Advice which had been brought during the Campaign, viz. that a Partizan of the Enemy, called *Pesséman*, had designed to surprize the Castle, might justly cause an Alarm. This Journey gave him an Opportunity of visiting the Entrance of

of the Black Mountains. These did not appear to him so difficult of Access as was generally related ; and he now informed himself of many Particulars, which were of Advantage to him afterwards. 1694.

The Orders being arrived with regard to the last Separation of the Army, Marquiss *de Villars* went and past the Winter at Court. The King, who was persuaded of his Zeal, and had a pretty good Opinion of his Views, was pleased to confer with him in his Cabinet. In the first Audience, he ordered him to draw up some Memoirs, with respect to such military Projects as might be formed ; and in the second Audience Marquiss *de Villars* presented him those he had drawn up.

His Majesty was so gracious as to assure him, that he perused them with Pleasure ; that he understood the Consequences, and was persuaded of the Usefulness of them. But as the Marquiss was not qualified to put them in Execution ; as three Marshals of *France* were appointed to command the Army of *Germany*, not to mention that the Minister of War was a professed Enemy to *Villars*, his Scheme was not followed. However, it was of Advantage to him ; it had struck the King, and confirmed him in his Resolution to raise the Marquiss, which he did some Years after ;  
and

1694. and at a time when his Majesty, finding the Affairs of War in the greatest Confusion in *Flanders* and *Germany*, would give the Command of the Army in *Germany* to Marquiss *de Villars*, altho' headed by a Marshal of *France*, and six Lieutenant-Generals who were his Seniors.

Nothing particular happened therefore this Winter, with regard to Marquiss *de Villars*, except the two Audiences abovementioned ; but now several Matches were proposed to him. His Family was passionately desirous of his marrying, and this Reason suspended the Disinclination he had to the wedded State. Some Difficulties arose which he endeavoured faintly to surmount, and he set out in 1695, for the Campaign of *Germany*.

1695. It opened, as usual, with the Passage of the *Rhine*, and our Army encamped between *Heidelberg* and *Philipsburg*. Marshal *de Lorge* falling dangerously ill, was carried to *Landaw*, and the Command devolved on Marshal *de Joyeuse*.

The Army immediately spread, taking several Posts in the neighbourhood of *Sensheim*, and on the Route which the Enemy might take, in order to approach us.

In the mean time we had not good Information with regard to their first Motions



tions; and Marshal *de Joyeuse*, having <sup>1695.</sup> Advice about Noon, that the Prince of *Baden* was coming towards us, ordered *Marquifs de Villars* to march immediately with two thousand Horfe, and bring back seven or eight hundred Foot whom we had distributed in feveral little Cities, Castles, or Churches; all within two Hours march of the Army, and on the Enemy's Route.

*Marquifs de Villars* met with the Vanguard of their Army, headed by the Prince of *Baden*. He drew the Foot abovementioned out of their Posts; but as, in order to secure their Retreat, he was obliged to bring up the two thousand Horfe, it was pretty difficult. The Enemy's Hussars beginning to charge our last Troops, *Marquifs de Villars* halted, with two Troops of the Gendarmerie, at the Head of a Defile, and easily checked the Progress of the most advanced Hussars. At the same time, he commanded *Marquifs de Marivaux* to march off from this Defile, which was a little Rivulet of very easy Passage; and after trotting hard to the Extremity of a Plain about half a League round, to draw up in order of Battle; so that the Enemy, after crossing this Rivulet, discovered a considerable Body of Horfe, which obliged them to cross

1695. cross this Plain with regularity, in order  
to approach it.

After this Disposition, the Hussars charging briskly our two Troops, Marquiss *de Villars* commanded the latter to drive the Hussars two hundred Paces, and to come back with the utmost Speed. Marquiss *de Villars* waited their return with a third Troop; received them, and traversed the Plain unmolested. Scarce was he got in the middle, but the Enemy crowded over the first Rivulet, and a first Line was soon formed. But as they perceived a large Body at the Extremity of the Plain, the first Line would wait for a second. Marquiss *de Villars* made the second Line, unperceived by the Enemy, repass with great Diligence the Rivulet behind him. This Rivulet might be easier defended than the former; and the first Line, three Troops excepted, repassed also, whilst the Prince of *Baden* was drawing up his Forces in Battle-array on the Plain. At the same Time, *Villars* commanded all the Dragoon-Drummers to beat a Foot March, and to make the greatest Noise possible, in order to persuade the Enemy, that the Head of the *French* Army was coming to sustain them.

The Prince of *Baden* crossed the Plain with all possible Diligence, and extended  
along

along the Rivulet, which he found de- 1695.  
fended by the two thousand Horse above-  
mentioned. Very brisk Skirmishes ensued,  
nevertheless Marquiss *de Villars* lost but ten  
Men in a long Retreat made in Presence of  
the Enemy's Army, which was conducted  
by an active, enterprizing General. Night  
came on, Marshal *de Joyeuse* marched for-  
ward towards *Villars's* Troops, most of  
which he supposed had been cut to pieces,  
or taken Prisoners.

The next Day, the Prince of *Baden*  
drew near the King's Army, as tho' he in-  
tended to come to an Engagement. This  
would not have been impossible, had he  
been very desirous of it. Our Left was  
open to the Cannon, and might either  
have been dislodged, or very much an-  
noyed. We entrenched as soon as possi-  
ble with some \* Epaulements for the  
Horse; there was not much cannonading.  
The two Armies continued a considerable  
time in Sight; after which, throwing up  
several Intrenchments to secure our Re-  
treat, we made it unmolested.

The King's Army repassed the *Rhine*,  
and went and encamped near *Alsey*, on a  
Spot of which Generals are very fond,

\* A Work raised either of Earth, Gabions, or Fas-  
cines, &c.

1695. where they always enjoy the utmost Abundance and Tranquillity. Marshal *de Lorge* was still very ill at *Landaw*; 'twas long before he could recover his Strength, and he made a Resolution to quite leave the Service. The rest of the Campaign was spent, without the least Appearance of coming to an Action.

Marshal *de Joyeuse* sent Marquiss *de Villars* below *Mentz* with a great Body of Horse, in order to oblige those Countries to pay sooner the Contributions in Corn and Specie. As he was retiring in sight of *Mentz*, General *Palfy* advanced with a large Body of Hussars, when some brisk Skirmishes ensued. The Hussars were repulsed to the Counterscarp. Thirty were either killed or taken, and General *Palfy* was wounded. This little Event closed the Campaign, and Marquiss *de Villars* returned to Court, in order to spend the Winter there, when he was again pressed by his Family to marry. Several Proposals were made, and pretty far advanced, but the little Inclination he had to the marriage State, was always an Obstacle to the Conclusion of it.

He was nominated to serve in the Army of *Italy*, where a much greater Number of Forces were drawn together than the preceeding Campaigns, to force the  
Duke

Duke of *Savoy* to a separate Treaty; and <sup>1695.</sup> give him an Opportunity of excusing himself to his Allies, by declaring that he had been obliged to yield to a superiour Force; or otherwise, in case the Treaty did not take Place, to make some Conquests.

The Campaign opened in the Beginning of *June*. The King's Army posted it self on the *Sangon*; and, at first, the Enemy who advanced frequently with Bodies of Horse and Dragoons, endeavoured, either to carry off our Guards or to fall on our Forragers. But all their Parties were unsuccessful, and these little Attempts always lost them several Men.


In the mean Time, various Indispositions of Count *de Tessé*, which prevented his appearing for four or five Days; began to raise a Suspicion that they were feigned, and that he did not keep his Bed Day and Night. At last, 'twas no longer doubted in the Army, but that he had held some secret Conferences with some Ministers of the Duke of *Savoy*. Matters were carried on in this manner till the 10<sup>th</sup> of *July*, when a Suspension of Arms being concluded with the Duke above-mentioned, proved, that the Treaty was either concluded, or in a fair way of being so.



1696. His Majesty had granted a Suspension of Arms for twenty Days only ; nevertheless, the Duke of *Savoy* desired, and was indulged so many Delays, that it spun out to the first of *September*.

The Emperour being in pain about the Negotiation, sent to *Turin*, Count *de Mansfeld*, one of his chief Ministers, to dissuade the Duke from uniting with *France*. Abbot *Grimani*, (afterwards Cardinal) was also there in the Name of the Emperour, who had great Confidence in him.

Prince *Eugene* was at *Turin* at the same Time, and Marquiss *de Leganes*, Governor of the *Milaneze*, came frequently to that City. 'Twas very much the Interest of these Ministers, in case they could not quite put a stop to the Treaty, to retard the Conclusion of it, and make us lose our Campaign. The Duke of *Savoy* was resolutely determined to conclude it; for such advantageous Offers were made him, that he did not know how to refuse them. But on the other Side, he could hardly prevail upon himself to break openly with his antient Allies, and especially to quit the Command of the Imperial Army, in order to Head, from Time to Time, that of *France*, as his Treaty would oblige him to do. As to his Majesty, he purchased

chased this Peace at too dear a Price, to 1696.  
leave a Continuation of the War in *Italy*;   
and the Emperour and *Spain* would be  
obliged, either to sign the Neutrality, or  
attack the *Milaneze*. The Preparations  
were all making for this; and we had an  
abundance of all Things necessary for the  
Success of it.

The King's Army, composed of Sixty-two Battalions and fourscore Squadrons, began to move the 28<sup>h</sup> of *August*, and marched towards *Turin*, in order to cross the *Doria* near that City. We were joined by ten Battalions and seventeen Squadrons of the Duke of *Savoy's* Troops. Most of the General Officers went and paid their Compliments to the Duke. His Royal Highness gave Marquiss *de Villars* the highest Testimonies of his Esteem, and told him that he had heard of his Campaigns. Marquiss *de Villars* surveyed this Prince very attentively; and from the first Conversations he had with him whether publick or private, he discovered in him a profound Discernment, and the greatest Justness of Thought; a little Slowness in his Speech, but this always vastly clear; and the Duke, at first sight, showed himself to be a Man of superiour Genius.

1696.

The Troops of the Emperour and of the King of *Spain*, which were very inferior to those of the King, seemed as tho' they intended to take some Posts near *Casal*; but we were sensible, that neither Art nor Nature could furnish them with any strong enough, to make Head against an Army so greatly superiour to them.

The Army passed the *Doria-Baltea*, a River whose Rapidity, and the great Number of Rocks in it, made the Passage very troublesome to the Horses. In some Places they were even obliged to swim, if they went but to ever so little a Distance from the Ford. Marquiss *de Villars*, whose Employment obliged him to superintend the Passage of the Cavalry, posted below the Place where they were crossing, a Line of Cavalry, in Places where the Horses could stand; in order to save, by this means, those who should happen to fall in crossing over; but notwithstanding all these Precautions, we lost ten or twelve Troopers and a Quarter-Master, who was forced away by the Current, and could not be saved by the Troopers posted below.

The Army marched but slow, and his Royal Highness obtained a Suspension of coming to Action till the 15<sup>th</sup>, on which  
Day

Day he had engaged to Head his Ma-<sup>1696.</sup>  
jesty's Army.

'Twas natural to suppose, that we must go and besiege *Valenza*, from the indispensable Necessity we were under of making use of the *Po*, to transport our Stores of every kind. This River being very low at that Season, the Boats could go but half loaded.

The Duke of *Savoy* did not join the Army till the 17<sup>th</sup>, and the same Honours were paid him as to the King.

We invested *Valenza* the 20<sup>th</sup>. Count *Tessé* staid on the other Side of the *Po*. Mr. *de Larré* and the Grand-Prior were in the Quarters of the Duke which began at the *Po*, above *Valenza*, and extended to that of Marshal *de Catinat*, which ended at a Ditch or hollow Way, about the Center of the Line. Marquiss *de Villars's* Quarters were on the Mountains towards *Alessandria*. Marquiss *de Vins* occupied the Plain, from the Foot of the Mountains to the *Po*, below *Valenza*, the Outworks of which appeared in good Condition. The Garrison that defended it consisted of two Battallions of *Lorrain*, two of *Wirtemberg*, Troops of the Emperour; two of *Steynaw*, Troops of *Bavaria*, and six Battalions of Troops of the Government of *Milan*. 'Twas very fine Weather; the Can-

1696. non and Stores of every kind, notwithstanding the Fall of the *Po*, arrived in as great Diligence as could have been desired. In the mean time, Count *de Mansfeld* and Marquiss *de Leganes* frequently sent Couriers, and often declared, that they were ready to accept of the Neutrality; but 'tis probable this was done merely to amuse us, since they never came to a Conclusion.

The Négotiations were still continued; and, besides the Couriers of Marquiss *de Leganes* and Count *de Mansfeld*, the frequent Journies of Marquiss *de St. Thomas* to *Pavia*, showed plainly, that the Duke of *Savoy* did not desire, and that the Enemy were afraid, of coming to an Action.

Nevertheless, the Trenches were opened the Night of the 24<sup>th</sup>. The Duke of *Savoy*, altho' he was persuaded that the Enemy would soon come to Terms, he yet would often hazard his Person, and show the *French*, (frequently without the least Necessity for it) that he was not afraid of Musket-balls. He walked, defenceless, without the Trench; and, in a word, did Things which would scarce be pardoned in a Volunteer, who was making his first Campaign.

The City of *Valenza* appeared to us a good Strong-hold, things being brought  
to



to almost a single Attack. The Governour <sup>1696.</sup> was *Colmenero*, afterwards so renowned, and who remained for ever Governour of the Castle of *Milan*, tho' he so often changed his Sovereign.

The Siege advanced: Marquis *de Villars* commanded the Trenches the 30<sup>th</sup> of *September*, when the Enemy made a considerable Sally. He marched against them with the Head of the Trenches. Marquis *du Chatelet* Colonel of Horse, heading his Squadron, repulsed them to the Covert-way. *Besbre*, his Lieutenant-Colonel, was very dangerously wounded on this occasion.

During this Siege, the Garrison of *Alexandria*, which was very strong in Cavalry, went daily in quest of our Forragers; and their Parties of Horse, sustained by Foot, which could easily be posted in a Country full of hollow-ways; were often successful. They defeated a Party of three hundred Horse, commanded by Chevalier *de la Ferronaye*, a very brave Man who was taken Prisoner, after having exerted himself to the utmost, to keep the Troops together. Two Captains of Horse were killed on the same Occasion.

Some time after, Mr. *de Mauroi*, being on his Duty of Quarter-Master of Horse, was defeated.

1696.

He marched, a second Time, with three hundred Horse, and three hundred Foot, to cover a Forrage towards *Alexandria*, when a thousand Horse sallied out of the Town, and again attacked Mr. *de Mauroy*. Now it happened that Marquiss *de Villars* riding among the Guards of Horse, saw the Attack. Immediately he made two Horse Guards advance on two small Eminencies, the Backparts of which were out of the Enemy's Sight. These two Troops stopped there first; when the Troops who were repulsed, and mixed with a great Number of Forragers, knowing Marquiss *de Villars*, set up a great Shout. They then, of their own accord, faced about to the Enemy, when these not doubting but those Troops saw a considerable Body in the Vallies, lying behind the two small Troops abovementioned, began to retire. Marquiss *de Villars* taking Advantage of this Motion, made those two Troops advance two hundred Paces forward; and drew up, behind him, some Forragers who were assembled; when the Enemy repass'd a Rivulet with the utmost Diligence. The Head of the Regiments of Dragoons of *Wartigny* and *Morsan* came up that Moment. Marquiss *de Wartigny*, a Man of great Bravery, was present on this occasion, tho' afflicted with

with a violent Fever; and Marquifs *de Villars*, seeing his Forces increased, marched towards the Enemy who were covered with a little Rivulet, and endeavoured to cross it. 1696.

And now Marshal *de Catinat* appeared. But whilst he was endeavouring to assemble a greater Number of Troops, in order to charge with more Advantage; the Enemy, between whom and *Alessandria* there lay only a large Plain, did not lose a Moment, but advanced to that City with the utmost speed.

During this the Siege advanced, but we met with more Difficulties than had been foreseen. The Garrison which, as we before observed, was very strong, stopped us by their frequent Sallies; and the Ground being marshy in many Places, 'twas with the utmost Difficulty we fixed and changed our Batteries.

The 7<sup>th</sup> we attempted the Lodgment of the Covert-way, and at the same time attacked a half-moon, which our Grana- diers first entered by the *Gorge*; but the Workmen not following quick enough, and improper Measures being taken, we left the Half-moon, and failed of the Covert-way. This ill Success might have delayed the taking of the Town some Days; but Marquifs *de St. Thomas's* re-

1696. turn, the 8<sup>th</sup>, with the Treaty of Neutrality, which had been agreed to upon our Terms, put an End to the Siege and the War at the same time.

By this Treaty, which was very advantageous in the present Juncture, the King of *France* drove the *Austrians* out of *Italy*, by forcing them to recal their Troops from it; and at the same time opened a Passage to his own, by help of the Duke of *Savoy*, whom he drew off from their Alliance, and engaged in his own. 'Twas this made the Emperour and the King of *Spain* so very unwilling to agree to that Treaty; and they never would have signed it, had we not threatned to seize upon the *Milaneze*.

The Neutrality being accepted, the Duke of *Savoy* left the Army the next Morning, and set out for *Turin*, where Count *de Mansfeld* arrived the Day after. By this Treaty, the Emperour's Troops were to begin their march the 20<sup>th</sup> of *October*, but the Generals gave their Word of Honour, that they should move the 15<sup>th</sup>. They marched them off, a thousand at a time, thro' the *Grisons*; and his Majesty's Forces were to draw off in like manner in proportion to their Number; so that, when the last thousand of the Imperialists evacuated the *Milaneze*, the last

Body

Body of the King's Troops evacuated it 1696. the same time. The Number of Squadrons and Battalions on each Side were computed for that purpose. During this they were to furnish us Hay out of the *Milaneze*, but no Corn. The *Spaniards* gave for Hostages, on this Occasion, Messieurs *de Trivulcio* and *de Borgomaneiro*; and on the Part of his Majesty were given, Messieurs *de Tessé* and *de Bachevilliers*.

As the Forces on each Side, were longer in evacuating *Italy* than had been supposed, Marquiss *de Villars* was very desirous of seeing *Milan*, and took with him Count *de Coigny* and Marquiss *de Montperoux*.

Mr. *de Leganes* paid them all the Honours imaginable in his Capital; and ordered *Colmenero* to attend Marquiss *de Villars* to the Carthusians of *Pavia*, the greatest Curiosity in all the *Milaneze*.

Marquiss *de Villars* was desirous of seeing the Field of Battle, where *Francis I.* was defeated and taken Prisoner. He afterwards returned to *Milan*, and there met with Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, with whom he had renewed his Acquaintance in the Wars of *Hungary*. This Prince was greatly pleased to see the Marquiss, and always indulged him singular Marks of his Friendship, which the Wars wherein.



1696. wherein they afterwards were engaged one against the other, could never diminish.

This Journey to *Milan* was short, but one perpetual Series of Pleasure; and the Marquis went, as is the Custom of that Country, to hear a wonderful fine piece of Music, sung in Convents by Nuns of the greatest Beauty and Politeness.

Marquis *de Villars* returned to *Turin*. Marquis *de Montperoux* staid at *Arona*, by reason of his Indisposition, but recovered in a few Days. The Duke of *Savoy* gave Marquis *de Villars* the highest Marks of his Friendship and Esteem; and a little after, the Marquis set out for the Court.

This Year was remarkable for the Death of three Monarchs, viz. *John*, Czar of *Muscovy*; *Mary-Ann* of *Austria*, Queen-Dowager of *Spain*; and *John III.* King of *Poland*.

1697. Marquis *de Villars* was appointed this Year, to serve in the Army of *Germany*, under Marshal *de Choiseuil*. This General, who indulged him the highest Confidence, assured him, that his future Campaigns should not be so barren of Events as all the foregoing ones; and that he opened his Mind to him, in order that they in concert, might endeavour to acquire some Glory; the whole being seasoned with Compliments which the Reader

der may easily figure to himself; Mar-<sup>1697.</sup>quis de Villars, after thanking him for his Confidence, said, that the Advantage of the Service was always his chief Object; and that before he projected any Actions, he must first know the Designs of the Court, whose Interest it sometimes was, not to run any hazard. The Marshal assured the Marquis, that his Majesty seemed desirous of coming to an Action, upon which Villars replied; *On this Foundation I will not presume to advise you to it, but with the utmost Precaution.*


The Reader is to know, that Marshal de Choiseul laboured under a Defect, often of the most fatal Consequence to a General, which is, that his Sight was very bad. By the help of a small Glass, he could distinguish tolerably well a Steeple, a Tower, or any such Object; but it was quite impossible for him to discern the Motions of an Army in a Plain. Hence he was obliged to have recourse to some other Person for Advice, and as Marquis de Villars was ever desirous of exerting himself for the Benefit of the Service, so he was willing to oblige a General who gave him his Confidence without the least Reserve.

The King's Army crossed the Rhine, and pitched their Tents, at the first opening

1697. ing of the Campaign, to the Left of *Rastatt*, and to the Right of *Kupenheim*. This is the most advantageous Post imaginable, either for taking a View, and waiting calmly the coming up of an Enemy; or for attacking him, if a General thinks his Troops superior with regard to Numbers or Bravery; and this was just our Case. His Majesty's Army, which had the Rivulet of *Rastatt* in Front, and their Wings posted to no less Advantage, could be in no fear from an Army that was one third Part less numerous.

Some Days after, Advice was brought that the Enemy was come and encamped behind *Dourlac*. Then Marquiss de *Villars* said to Marshal de *Choiseuil*; *You may now do as you please. The Enemy cannot approach you, but by crossing a Plain three or four Leagues in Extent. If you are desirous of engaging, you need but send out frequent Parties, to know when they will cross the Etlinguen. That before you, the Bottom of which is very sound, may easily be crossed; and you will be able to come up with the Enemy in the Plain.*

This hint was immediately taken. Preparations were ordered for the March without declaring whither; and the several Dispositions were made without any  
one's

one's being able to penetrate upon what <sup>1697.</sup>  
Design. 

Some Days afrer, *Coqfontaine*, Lieutenant-Colonel of Horse, and a good Officer, sent us Word, at Day-break, that the Prince of *Baden* was beginning to cross the Rivulet of *Etlinguen*. That Moment, *Marquis de Villars*, who was already on Horseback, flew to *Marshal de Choiseuil*, and said to him: *The Enemy are now where you wished them to be. I'll fly to Coqfontaine, and will take five hundred Horse of the Right, that I may be able to sustain him; and to discover, at the same time, whether the Enemy intend only to cross the River, or Design to march up to us. Your Dispositions are already made; and in the mean time, you may order the whole Army to cross the Rivulet of Rastatt; for 'tis the same thing, whether you go and attack the Enemy a little nearer, or farther up, in the Plain.*

*Marshal de Choiseuil*, now he was coming up with the Enemy, did not seem so eager of engaging as before: But, on the contrary, would not let *Marquis de Villars* go away, which surprized him very much. Says the *Marquis*, *I am absolutely of no use to you here, but may be of service at the Head of your first Parties, by sending you Advice of the Motions of the Enemy,*  
and



1697. *and by that means give you time to extend your Army. We already know where to post our Wings, and therefore I'll fly to Coqfontaine.* He found that the Enemy had not yet quite crossed the *Etlinguen*, but were drawing up in order of Battle. He sent *Officer* on *Officer* to the Marshal, to inform him of all he saw, and engage him to advance forward.

In the mean time, the Enemy's Hussars began to charge briskly *Coqfontaine*; but *Villars* having brought the five hundred Horse in sight, a thousand Paces behind, in order to draw nearer *Coqfontaine's* little Body, and not expose them; he always kept his Eye towards *Rastatt*, persuaded that the Head of his Majesty's Army would soon appear on the other Side of the Rivulet. Instead of this, Marshal *de Choiseuil* came up to him, followed only by four Squadrons of the Gendarmerie. Says *Villars*; *We shan't defeat the Enemy with these four Squadrons. But does your Army cross the Rivulet?* The Marshal was a little ashamed to own, that he had not yet sent Orders for that purpose. But the Enemy's Army, replied *Villars*, is on their march. If they come within half a League of our Rivulet, before your whole Army has crossed and is well posted, it will be impossible for you to advance one Pace;  
in



*in which case, you'll give me leave to say, I* 1697.  
*don't know how the Battle may go.*

However, the Marshal did nothing all the time but take his Glafs, and ogle the Enemy as well as he could ; so that we returned in our Camp, at One in the Afternoon. After having panted so eagerly for Battle, we immediately began to intrench our selves on *Kupenheim Hills*, at the Head of the Village of *Rastatt*, along the Rivulet.

The Enemy posted themselves within Cannot-shot of us ; and after presenting us Battle, (during four or five Days) which they plainly saw we were resolved to avoid, they also intrenched themselves.

One Day, Marshal *de Choiseuil*, standing on *Kupenheim Hills*, and not seeing Marquis *de Villars*, cried aloud ; *I had a great Desire to attack those People ; when they crossed the Plain.* The Marquis hearing this came up, and said, *'T would have been well, Sir, if you had ; and you might easily have gratified your Desire.* The Marshal was a little confounded at this Answer ; for he was willing that Marquis *de Villars* should be supposed to have contributed to this Inactivity ; as, on the other Side, the Marquis was very desirous to inform the whole Army of the contrary.

1697. The Armies continued in fight six  
Weeks, after which, that of his Majesty,  
who possessed several Bridges over the  
*Rhine*, which forms the large Island of  
Fort *Lewis*, withdrew into it, and spent  
the Remainder of the Campaign, in the  
the usual Camps on the other Side of the  
*Rhine*.

News was then brought us of the gene-  
ral Peace of *Ryswick*, so that Marquiss *de*  
*Villars* had no more to do, but to return  
to Court.

The Marquiss's Relations were now  
more urgent with him than ever to marry.  
Several Matches were proposed, and the  
Conditions he required were very reason-  
able; but the Difficulties which arose, be-  
sides his Indifference with regard to Mar-  
riage, made him lay all thoughts of it  
aside; and he now resolved to devote  
himself entirely to Negotiations, for which  
an Opportunity presented itself.

His Catholick Majesty, was reduced to  
so low a State of Health, that 'twas pre-  
sumed he could not live above a Year or  
two; and by his Death, the return of the  
War which had just before been ended,  
seemed unavoidable. Now how difficult  
must it be to reconcile such powerful, such  
self-interested Claimants?

As this was an Affair of so much Importance, it roused all *Europe*. His Majesty nominated the Counts of *Harcourt*, of *Tallard*, and Marquiss *de Villars*, for the Courts of *Madrid*, *London*, and *Vienna*, where the most important part of the Negotiation was to be carried on. 1697.

A few Days after, that Marquiss *de Villars* had been appointed to go to *Vienna*, he was so unhappy as to lose his Father. He was sensibly affected with his Death; for he loved and honoured a very worthy Parent, who, had not Fortune opposed him, would have rose to the greatest Honours. Marquiss *de Villars* made over to his Mother, his Brother, and his Sisters, the small Estate he had left him; and spared out of his own the several Portions, in order, not to lessen his Father's Estate, the intire Income of which he gave to his Mother, a Lady distinguished by her fine Sense, Virtue, and Resolution.

This Year, a Successor was to be given to the King of *Poland*, who died the Year before. *Don Livio Odescalchi*, Nephew of *Innocent XI*, appeared as a Candidate, and offered immense Sums to the Republic, provided the Crown should be set on his Head; but the Meaness of his Genius and Talents lost it him. Prince *Alexander*,  
second

1697. second Son to the late King, was mentioned on this occasion ; but he was not old enough, according to the Laws ; and his Faction had so little Credit, that the Queen his Mother was forced to remove from *Warsaw*, during the Diet. All things seemed to conspire in favour of the Prince of *Conti* ; when the Pope's Nuncio and the Emperour's Embassador declared in favour of the Duke of *Saxony*. In the mean time, the Prince of *Conti* was proclaimed by Cardinal *Radzicyouski*, Primate of the Kingdom ; and two Hours after, *Frederick-Augustus*, Duke of *Saxony*, was also proclaimed by the Bishop of *Cujavia*. Each of these Factions dispatched a Courier to the elected Princes. The Elector arrived first, seized upon *Cracovia*, and was crowned there by the Bishop of *Cujavia*. The Prince of *Conti* arrived a little after, but too late. Most of the Generals, of the Republick's Army had been brought over, and declared for him who had either given, or promised, most Money. For this Reason, the Prince of *Conti*, thinking it would be to derogate from his Dignity to contest any longer, resolved to leave *Poland*, and return to *France*.

1698. To return to Marquiss *de Villars*, who was appointed to carry on the Negotiation at *Vienna*, he took with him a Train  
suitable

suitable to an Embassador, tho' the Mi-<sup>1698.</sup>nist<sup>W</sup>ers of his *Gallic* Majesty at the Emperour's Court, could enjoy no higher Title than that of Envoy Extraordinary; because the Title of Embassador would give them the Precedency of the *Spanish* Embassador, who makes a very splendid figure at *Vienna*; the Union of the two Branches, generally making a *Spanish* Embassador be considered (and to have proportionable Credit) as one of the Emperour's Ministers. In fine, the *French* have always thought proper not to have a Minister at the Emperour's Court, by the Title of Embassador; to prevent his being engaged in perpetual Contests with the Embassador of *Spain*.

Marquis *de Villars* sent from *Paris*, three Coaches with eight Horses each; four Waggon<sup>s</sup> with the same Number of Horses, and five or six Caravans, to carry the Furniture he designed to use in *Vien-na*; six Pages, four Gentlemen, and a great Number of Domesticks. In the mean time, as he always valued himself for the order he kept and his prudent *Œ*-conomy, in the midst of the Expences suitable to his Character; he took the Liberty to inform his Majesty, how he had acted on this occasion. He asked the King what he thought the Expence, of sending



1698. sending these several Things to *Vienna*, might amount to. Those who were near the King, either to please Marquiss *de Villars*, or to make a just Estimate, computed it at forty or fifty thousand Livres. Gentlemen, says he, *it has not cost me a Pistole*. The King surprized at his Answer, asked how that was possible, Sir, replied *Villars*; *He who would make a splendid Figure, must be an Œconomist, and set his Head at Work*. The Courtiers did not know what would be the result of this Preamble, when *Villars* added, Sir, *My Equipage set out, just at the time that your Cavalry was disbanding. Your Majesty knows very well, that Trooper's Horses were sold at Twenty-five Livres each; I bought up an Hundred at Verdun, Moufon, Châlons, and other Towns. These, after bringing to Paris, cost me but Thirty-one or Thirty-two Livres each. They were but four Days in that City, and twenty Days from Paris to Ulm; in this manner not one of these, with his keeping, amounted to more than sixty Livres. They were sold, one with another, at Ulm for an hundred and fifty Livres; Consequently the Profit I have made by the Sale of these Horses, will defray the rest of my Journey*. The King applauded *Villars's* good Sense and Contrivance; and said on this occasion, that many Persons declared

declared they ruined themselves in his Service, tho' he gave ten times more than any of his Predecessors. This Digression will not be improper to show the Œconomy of Marquiss *de Villars*, which he always practiced in the Command of the great Armies, over which he was General. And indeed 'tis certain, as will appear hereafter, that he saved his Majesty in the Campaign of *Landaw* and *Friburg*, upwards of twenty-five Millions. 1698.

We are now entering upon one of the most important Circumstances of Marquiss *de Villars's* Life. A Negotiation is now going to be set on Foot, the occasion of which is as follows.

*Lewis XIV.*, and *Queen Maria-Theresa*, had renounced, in the most authentic manner, the Crown of *Spain*. The Emperour *Leopold* had married the Queen's younger Sister, and she had not renounced her Pretensions to that Throne. She had but one Daughter, who was married to the Elector of *Bavaria*; and tho' this Princess had but a bad State of Health, she yet brought forth a Son in the tenth Year of their Marriage.

The King of *Spain* and the Emperour agreed afterwards, to settle on this Son the Empire of *Spain* and the *Indies*; but the King on one Side, and the Emperour

1698. on the other, did not resign all claim to some Part of that great Monarchy. The King would not agree to the Renunciations, and the Earl of *Portland*, in his Embassy in *France*, was partly made acquainted with his Majesty's Designs.

Marquiss *de Harcourt*, who set out first for *Spain*, represented to the *Spaniards*, that they would be involved in a dangerous War, in case the Dauphin, or his Children, were not recognized as chief Heirs.

The Reader may judge of the great Ferment the Court of *Spain* was in at that time. The Queen, Mother to his Majesty, had prevailed with him to make one Will; and afterwards the Queen his Wife, of the *Palatine* House, would make him draw up another. The whole lay between the Archduke, Son to the Emperour, and the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*. The *Spaniards* being divided, wrought a like Influence on the weak Mind of their Sovereign. The Queen was not beloved; and her Confident, *Perlips* by Name, and a Monk, her Confessor, who governed her, created her Majesty a great many Enemies. The King of *Spain*, urged and tormented to nominate a Successor, declared at last, to free himself from their Importunities, that he would not take this Resolution

Resolution till he was at the point of 1698. Death, and receiving the Viaticum. Marquifs *d'Harcourt* imagined that it would be necessary, at this Juncture, to strengthen the Party he was forming at *Madrid*, to frighten the opposite Cabal, and advise the marching of Troops; and accordingly, a Body was brought forward to the Frontiers.

On the other Side, Count *Tallard* negotiated with King *William*, who was treating about *Holland*, as for his own Kingdoms.

At the same time, the *Sieur Hoop* was sent to the Emperour, in quality of Envoy, with orders to negotiate the Affairs of *Great-Britain* and *Holland*.


Hitherto, his *Gallic* Majesty had not entered into any Negotiation with the Emperour, who, on the other Side, being desirous of persuading all his Allies, that he had the highest Regard and Friendship for them, was not for that Reason, urgent to send a Minister to the King. This Circumstance retarded the Departure of Marquifs *de Villars*, who did not set out till about the End of *June*.

As he had been intimately acquainted with Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* in the Imperial Armies in *Hungary*, and had received great Testimonies of that Prince's Friend-

1698. ship, he turned out of his Road, to go and pay him a Visit at *Vilbade*, where he was drinking the Waters and making use of the Bath, five Leagues from *Baden*. In their Conversation, this Prince spake with freedom enough on the State of the Court of *Vienna*. He was the Emperour's Lieutenant; a Post which, in some Measure, is equal to that of Constable in *France*, since it gives a right to command all the Marshals. But he was of too haughty a Disposition, to contract a strict Intimacy with the Ministers. He was even at that time at Variance with Count *de Kinsky*, who was then thought to have the greatest Credit over the Emperour; and this Enmity, joined to the little Correspondence he held with the other Ministers, drew an odium upon this Prince, from which his exalted Birth and personal Merit ought to have secured him, were it possible for these to be a sufficient Rampart against Court-Malice.

Marquis *de Villars* spent a whole Day with him and the Princess of *Baden*, a Lady of great Beauty, Virtue, and Merit. He afterwards came up with his Train near *Ulm*, whither he had before sent, to have three Barges got ready, to carry himself, with all his Coaches and Equipage to *Vienna*.



The several Negotiations were already <sup>1698.</sup> begun at *London* and *Madrid*. The first  related to the Division of the *Spanish* Monarchy, the chief Claimants whereof were the Dauphin, the Electoral Prince, and the Archduke. His Majesty supported the Claim of the Dauphin, as most valid, the Emperour that of the Archduke, and *Great-Britain* and *Holland* that of the Electoral Prince. In this posture of Affairs, the King and the Emperour, wanting to gain over the pretended Arbiters, did not discover, outwardly, that they were desirous of coming to an Understanding, without the Participation of the other Powers.

The Emperour appointed Count *de Walstein* his Envoy in *France*. Those two Princes were very careful not to act too openly, for fear lest either of them should make his Overtures of dangerous consequence, by discovering them to *Great-Britain*. Such was the State of Things, when Marquiss *de Villars* arrived in *Vienna*. Count *de Walstein*, only Son to the Lord High-Chamberlain, and nominated, as was before observed, Envoy to *France*, paid him a Visit immediately upon his Arrival; and that very Day would oblige him to be present at an Entertainment which the Emperour gave in his Gardens. Marquiss *de Villars* desired to be excused,

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saying,

1698. saying, that having not yet had the Honour to see his Imperial Majesty, 'twould be improper for him to come into his Presence. Count *de Walstein* answered, *Seats are already prepared for you, where you may see every thing without being seen.* He even hinted to him, that so far from giving umbrage by this, he on the contrary would make his Court.

At last *Villars* acquiesced, and going to the Gardens, was introduced to Count *Walstein's* Lady and Sister, who, with three other Ladies, placed him in the midst of them. The Emperour turned his Head to look at the Marquis, as did the King of the *Romans* several times. From thence he was conducted to the Assembly, which is formed of the most considerable Lords and Ladies of the Court; the Ministers and Embassadors are always invited at it; and the most important Affairs are sometimes spoke of there.

'Tis a Custom in this Court, which could not be established in that of the King at *Versailles*, the want of which is nevertheless very inconvenient to all Foreigners of Distinction, and even to *Frenchmen*; since no Assemblies are held even in *Paris*. At *Vienna*, on the contrary, there is always an Assembly at some Person of Quality's, on which occasion the Apartments

Apartments are finely illuminated. Six <sup>1698.</sup> or seven Rooms are filled with Persons of the highest Distinction both for Birth and Quality; none of an inferiour Rank are seen among them; and some Persons of less Figure having attempted to come there, met with so ill a Reception, that they did not dare to hazard a second Repulse.

The better to understand what follows, it may be proper to give a just Picture of the Court of *Vienna*. To begin with the Emperour *Leopold*. This Monarch, tho' very disagreeable in his outward Form, was possessed of great Qualities; he was a very religious, just, sensible Prince, and indefatigable in his Application to State-Affairs. His only fault was his being too irresolute; for tho' he often had a more just turn of thinking than his Ministers, he yet was a little too diffident of his own Understanding, which made him acquiesce always with the plurality of Voices. Thus this Prince has been drove from his Capital, and often reduced to the greatest Extremities, his Reign has nevertheless been very glorious; he extended further the Hereditary Countries, and atchieved greater Conquests than most of his Predecessors.

1698. The Empress *Eleonora*, Daughter of the Elector *Palatine*, was a very virtuous Princess, who spent her whole time in serving God, and pleasing the Emperour; in giving the Archduchesses an Education worthy of their Birth, and providing for the Necessities of the Poor. Nevertheless, she yet would concern herself with Affairs of State; she was haughty, and protected very strenuously those who adhered to her. Statesmen were sometimes obliged to give an Account to her, which sometimes occasioned a change in the Ministry.

The King of the *Romans* was young, and strongly addicted to his Pleasures. He was a Prince of good Sense, but his Mind was still unsettled, and might be brought to either Good or Evil. In a Party of Hunting, in which Marquiss *de Villars* was, he discovered an Impatience that gave the Emperour some Uneasiness. After the Bears were drove into the Toils, that Prince came out of the Tent in which the Emperour and all Persons of the greatest Distinction were, in order to ride and attack the Animals above-mentioned; when the Page who carried his Pole, not being quick enough, the King of the *Romans* gave him a Box o'th Ear. The Emperour chid him for it,  
after



after he was returned into the Tent, and <sup>1698.</sup> cried, *What vexes me most is, that Foreigners should have seen you.*

The Archduke, then but seventeen, seemed to be of a quite different Disposition. He was extremely mild, on which occasion 'twas said at Court, that the King of the *Romans* had his Mother's Haughtiness; and the Archduke, the Gentleness and Humanity of the House of *Austria*.

To come to the Ministers, the Prince *de Dietrichstein*, being Lord High-Steward, was, by his Employment at the Head of them; but, his advanced Age, (which had weakned his Mind) would not permit him to exercise any of the ministerial Functions. He paid a Visit, in a dying Condition, to Marquiss *de Villars*; and indeed it was the last he ever made.

Count *Kinski*, Chancellor of *Bohemia*, and the oldest Counsellor of State, formed a Council called the *Deputation*, composed of Count *Staremborg* President of War, of Count *Kaunits* Vice-Chancellor of the Empire, and Minister for foreign Affairs; of Count *Gondaker Staremborg* Vice-President of the Chamber, and consequently at the Head of the Finances, because the vacant Post of President was not filled.

As Count *Kinski* was the oldest Counsellor of State, the *Deputation* met at his



1698. House. *Kinski* gave the Emperour an account of the Debates, and from that time he was looked upon as Prime-Minister, without enjoying the Title. This Nobleman was certainly very worthy of that Employment, as well for his great Experience, he having been chief of the Embassadors at the Treaties of *Nineguen* and *Colen* ; as for his perfect Disinterestedness, he having, at his Death, five hundred thousand Livres less than he possessed, when he first began to serve the Emperour.

Count *Staremborg*,, the oldest of the Velt-Marshals and President of the Council of War, was already very far advanced in Years. He was essentially a Man of Honour, but his Views were very contracted. He had formerly been appointed to defend *Vienna*, and saved that City, not so much by the Courage of the Imperial Forces, as by the ill Conduct of the *Turks*.

Count *de Kaunits*, with whom Marquiss *de Villars* had transacted, during the Negotiations of *Bavaria*, in which each of them had endeavoured to bring over the Elector to the Imperial or *German* Interest, was a Man of great Sense, and had Abilities for the greatest Projects. This Nobleman, after the Death of Count *Kinski*,

*Kinski*, succeeded him in the Emperour's <sup>1698.</sup>  
Favour.

Count *Gondaker Staremborg*, having but very little Experience, had as yet no great Reputation; but his Abilities were greatly esteemed, and he always continued in the Ministry.

These several Imperial Ministers treated Marquiss *de Villars* with the utmost politeness; but then, pursuant to the prevailing Spirit of the Court, and the Orders of the Sovereign, they were not willing to have the *Sieur Hoop*, who was charged with the Affairs both of *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, suspect, that his Imperial Majesty was desirous to treat, in any manner, with Marquiss *de Villars*; and therefore, to remove every suspicion of that kind, they never invited the Marquiss to any Entertainments, tho' all the rest of the Court, the Ladies as well as Gentlemen, visited him.

After the Marquiss had been admitted to Audience of the Emperour, he offered, pursuant to his Orders, the Mediation of his *Gallic* Majesty, to hasten a Peace with the *Turks*; and mentioned it to Count *Kinski*. This Minister, after receiving his Master's Orders, discovered the utmost Gratitude for his Majesty's good Intentions. He added, that the

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King's

1698. King's Offers would be accepted with Joy, in case a Treaty was to begin; but as that relating to the Peace with the *Turks* was in a manner ended, the Conclusion of it would not be advanced but rather retarded, in case they should be obliged to wait for the Answers with respect to the Offer of this Mediation. 'Twas not probable it would be accepted, since, as the Emperour and the King had not yet concerted Matters with regard to the Succession to the Crown of *Spain*; it was natural that, upon the King of *Spain*'s demise, *France* would be glad to have the Emperour embroiled in War.

In the mean time, the Imperial Ministers, and those of other Powers who were to assist at the Treaty of Peace which was negotiating with the *Turks*, did not seem to prepare for their Departure. The Court had long pressed Prince *Eugene* to attempt some important Siege, and those of *Temeswaar* and *Belgrade* only could now be undertaken. The former was soon rendred impracticable, by the Arrival of the *Turkish* Army before that City; and a great many Obstacles were thrown in the way of the latter, from the distance and difficulty of the Convoys. Besides, the Imperialists must have been obliged to cross a great many Rivers, which often  
are

are increased in that Season, by the falling of the Snows ; and this Enterprize might be judged impracticable, since Prince *Eugene* did not attempt it. In the mean time, the Imperial Ministers, persuaded, that, if the Imperial Army should show a Resolution, the *Turks* would be more inclined to pacific Measures ; and, as generally happens, not valuing how difficult soever the Commissions may be which they give a General ; would have the Embassadors declare, before the opening of the Congress, that the *Turks* had just reason to fear fresh Losses.

At last, the Embassadors set out very late. Count *Doeting* was nominated chief Embassador ; and 'twas agreed, that the Negotiations should be carried on under the Walls of *Carlowitz*.

While these things were transacting, Expresses arrived frequently from *Madrid*, with News that the King of *Spain's* Indisposition increased daily, insomuch that his Death was expected every Moment. But Count *d' Harach*, the Emperour's Embassador at *Madrid*, was at last of Opinion (after many Alarms) that his Catholick Majesty might linger out near another Year. This Embassador was permitted to return home ; and his eldest Son being appointed to succeed him, he left him



1698. him in *Spain*, and set out in the Beginning  
 of *September*.

The Prince of *Schwartzemberg*, Lord High-Steward to the Empress, made some Overtures to Marquiss *de Villars*, with regard to a more strict Union between the Emperour and the King, concerning the *Spanish* Succession. The Bishop of *Passaw*, who a little after was Cardinal, did the same. But Marquiss *de Villars* had orders only to hear Proposals; and to take upon him to transmit to his Majesty an Account of whatever should be confided to him.

Some time after Count *Kinski*, who in reality was Prime-Minister, whispered him in the Emperour's Chamber, *We ought to be better Friends*. Marquiss *de Villars* made the short Answer following; *'T wont be my Fault if we are not*; to which Count *Kinski* rejoyned only, *Stay*. This Word, from the Prime-Minister, was more important than the long Harangues of the Prince of *Schwartzemberg* and those of *Passaw*.

In the mean time, the Marriage of the King of the *Romans* advanced, and the Princess of *Hanover* was preferred. The Prince of *Salms*, Lord High-Steward to the King of the *Romans*, whose Governour he had been; and by his Lady, who was  
 very



very nearly related to that Princess, employed his utmost Endeavours to forward this Match. Some Ministers had spoke to Marquiss *de Villars* about Mademoiselle, Daughter to the Duke of *Orleans*, whose Marriage with the Duke of *Lorraine* was already declared. But the Emperour had not these Views; and the Intimacy between these two Sovereigns was not great enough, to give Success to them. 1698.

The King of the *Romans* had a Mistress, who wrote to him in very sharp Terms; and he shewed one of her Letters to a Confident, who told Marquiss *de Villars* the Contents of it. 'Twas a bold Letter, and tallied exactly with the Character of the Lady, with whom Marquiss *de Villars* sapt sometimes. Her Name was *Dorothy de Thaun*. She was tall, well enough shaped, and past her Bloom, the Charms of which were now quite faded. But to supply these Defects, she was bold and had experience; Qualities more necessary than Beauty, for one who is to be the favourite Mistress of a young Prince. But as the latter had but little share in the Government, the Marquiss did not think that her Acquaintance could be of much service to his Sovereign.

The chief Business of the Ministry, was, to conclude a Peace as speedily as possible with

1698 with the *Turks*, and to take proper Measures about the *Spanish* Succession. Their first Ressource was in the Inclinations of the Queen, who was entirely devoted to the House of *Austria*. But they were under some Uneasiness, when Advice was sent from *Madrid*, that Marquiss d' *Harcourt*, to gain that Princess, offered her the Dauphin in Marriage. These, in order to counter-balance this Proposal, talked of marrying her to the King of the *Romans*. There was a great difference in their Ages; but those who were desirous they should endeavour to preserve the Queen in her favourable Dispositions with regard to the Emperour, said, with respect to the disparity of Ages, that the Queen was but three Years older than the Princess of *Hanover*, whose Marriage with the King of the *Romans* seemed resolved: Nevertheless, for this Reason, and some others, the Departure of the Princess of *Hanover* was delayed.

With regard to a Peace with the *Turks*; *Poland* and the Republick of *Venice*, which was not very well treated by the Imperialists, prompted the Embassadors of the two Powers, to raise Obstacles in its way. But the Emperour, being resolved to Peace, as well as the Grand Signior, was persuaded he should soon see it compleated,

completed, in spite of all the Difficulties. 1698. The Enemies of Count *Kinski*, who were very numerous in *Vienna*, did not scruple to publish, tho' at the hazard of giving Displeasure, that it was not so certain.

Some of the Emperour's Ministers, discouraging with Marquiss *de Villars*, insisted always upon a direct Reconciliation between their Sovereign and his *Gallic* Majesty. They were not in the Secret; and the Hopes that the King of *Spain* would not die so soon, made *Kinski*, who really was for a Reconciliation, desire to wait till a Peace should be concluded with the *Turks*, in order that he might be more favourably heard. This Reason was very just; since, when once this Peace should be concluded, the Emperour might be able to support his Engagements.

In the mean time the Emperour's Ministers were very urgent for the Restitution of *Brissac*. The demolition of the Bridge over the *Rhine* was a previous Condition, and the King agreed it should be so. Possibly, his Orders to hasten that demolition were not executed so speedily as they might have been; and 'twas said at *Vienna*, that there was a great Combination between the Destruction of the Bridge, and the Death of the King of *Spain*. The Event, however, shewed the contrary;  
for

1698. for the Bridge was demolished, and *Brissac* restored to the Imperialists, long before that Prince died. As 'twas not then doubted but it was near at Hand, several of his Subjects, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, intended to declare for the *French*. The Prince of *Aquaviva*, who was at *Vienna*, made several Proposals to Marquis *de Villars*, in favour of the principal Noblemen; requiring neither Favours nor Rewards, till they had performed Services.

The Queen of *Poland* arrived at that time in *Vienna* with her Family, that is, with Prince *Alexander* and *Constantine*. Prince *James* arrived also, with the Princess his Consort, Sister to the Empress.

In a long Conversation which Marquis *de Villars* had with her *Polish* Majesty, she employed all the Arguments possible, to persuade him of her sincere Attachment to the King of *France*. She told him, she had never forgot that she was a *French* Woman; that she was deeply sensible of the high Obligations which the late King her Consort, and her self in particular, had to his *Gallic* Majesty; that she was not ignorant Endeavours had been used to do her ill Offices in *France*, but that she could easily clear herself of the Imputations with which she was charged.

She



She assured the Emperour, at the same time, that she was in the like Sentiments with regard to him. Abbot *Scarlatti*, her Minister in whom she reposed the greatest Confidence, desired to have a private Interview with Marquiss *de Villars* in a Convent, in order to conceal their Conference from the Emperour's Ministers. This Abbot enforced, with all his Retorick, whatever the Queen had said to him; adding, that a speedy Change might soon be expected in *Poland*; whose King, he declared, was so obnoxious to the *Poles* by his Conduct, that they would not let him sit a Year on the Throne. 1698.


The Queen of *Poland* desired, in case of a Change, to obtain the King's Protection for Prince *Alexander* her second Son; and this preference of the younger Brother to the elder, lost the House of *Sobiesky* the Crown of *Poland*. And indeed, had the Queen's Adherents, and those of Prince *James* united together, this Prince would have obtained the Crown, in spite of all the other Competitors.

'Tis certain that great Troubles broke out in *Poland*, which the Affair of *Elbing* increased; and the new King was not yet well seated on his Throne. The Bishop of *Kiovia*, the *Polish* Envoy at *Vienna*, desired a Conference with Marquiss *de*



1698. *de Villars* at the same time. It lasted three Hours; but was quite different from that of the Queen of *Poland*, and Abbot *Scarlatti*. This Prelate declared, that all the *Poles* were inviolably attached to their new King; and that the high Idea they entertained of his Valour, and his affable Carriage, had won him the Hearts of all his Subjects. He added, that the King and the Republic had not any greater Enemies than the Court of *Vienna*, which used all its Endeavours to raise Divisions in *Poland*, for fear lest that Crown should unite with *France*. In fine, he declared he had full Authority to commence an Alliance with the King; he even was of Opinion, that himself and Marquis *de Villars* might conclude it more easily at *Vienna*, as there was no *French* Minister in *Poland*, nor any *Polish* Minister in *France*.

The Bishop of *Kiova*'s good Intentions, were followed by Advances made by the Prince of *Saxony-Zeils*, who flattered himself with the Hopes of a Cardinal's Hat, for his having contributed to convert to Popery, the *Polish* King, who otherwise could not have succeeded to the Crown. It was the Interest of this Prince to obtain the Protection of his Majesty at *Rome*; and one would have concluded that, to succeed the better, he had endeavoured to form

form an Alliance between *France* and *Poland*. 1698. 

The Envoy of *Brandenburg* expressed himself also in such a Manner, as seemed to indicate, that his Sovereign had the same Sentiments of this Union as *Poland*, and that he would willingly come into it.

In the mean time, the Peace with the Grand Signor advancing, News was brought, that he at last desisted from *Transilvania*, the only Article which could have delayed and perplexed the Negotiation, in case the *Turks* had been obstinate : For when once the Affairs of the Emperour should be settled, the Mediators were not urged to cause an entire Satisfaction to be made to *Poland*, *Muscovy*, and *Venice*.

At the same time the Marriage of the King of the *Romans* was declared; and Preparations were made to solemnize it a Fortnight before the Expiration of the Carnival, in order that the whole might pass, as it did, in perpetual Festivity.

Count *Harach* arrived at Court, and was declared Lord High-Steward. As this Employment gave him the first Seat in Councils, Count *Kinski* took Umbrage at it, thinking that no one should have been raised over his Head; but a powerful Cabal, which the Empress secretly favoured,

1698. voured, endeavoured to alienate him in  
the Emperour's Mind. The Count represented very respectfully to this Prince, that as no one had been so far honoured with his Confidence as himself; and as he flattered himself that he had served his Majesty successfully, he therefore had no reason to suspect that he should have received so great a Mortification. His Imperial Majesty, who stood in need of *Kinski's* Service, and really esteemed him, insinuated, that Count *Harach* would not exercise the Employment of Lord High-Steward, any otherwise than the late Prince of *Dietrichtein* had done; and observed, that this Post had been promised him many Years before, he having always entertained a high Esteem for Count *Harach*, who had been brought up with him. 'Tis certain, that the Emperour hinted to the latter, that he could not remove Count *Kinski* from being President of the Council called the *Deputation*, which had been established many Years; and 'tis no less certain that Count *Harach*, who was a very good natured Man, would have acquiesced with the Emperour's Desire, had not the Faction, and especially his Wife who was a very proud Woman, dissuaded him from it. These represented to him, that 'twas his Business to be resolute, and  
to

to refuse obstinately the Post of High-Steward, in case it were not given him with all its Prerogatives. The Count followed this Advice, and would not receive the Compliments of the Embassadors, when they visited him for that purpose. This Affair was held in suspense near six Weeks; but at last, the Emperour yielded, and quite disgusted Count *Kinski*. He only softned the Mortification by kind Expressions, and by assuring him, that no one should enjoy so much of his Confidence as himself.

*Kinski* used to write and transact in the Emperour's Presence only. He sent away and received the Couriers; and Count *de Marsilly* brought him the News of the Peace of *Hungary*; the most glorious and happy that the House of *Austria* ever made with the *Turks*. That very instant Count *Kinski* went and informed the Emperour of it, who, transported with Joy, replied to him in *Latin*, *est opus manuum tuarum*, ('Tis thy Work.) *Kinski* answered immediately, *Nunc dimitte servum tuum, Domine*, (Lord, let thy Servant now depart.) This Answer, which the Emperour was far from expecting, surprized and puzzled him. The Emperour gave him fresh Assurances of his Friendship, and kept him in his Service; and indeed, the



1698. the Affairs which were then transacting were so important, that he very much wanted a Statesman of Count *Kinski's* Experience and Abilities.

The King of *Spain's* Weakness increased daily, and those who were of Opinion that he might live a Year longer, agreed that he might be snatched away the next Moment.

We before observed, that *Kinski* had dropped a Word to Marquiss *de Villars*, which seemed to express a desire of Negotiating with him. Good Sense required, that, before he entered upon it, he should stay till the Peace was concluded with the *Turks*; because this would give the Emperour fresh Strength, and enable him to maintain his Engagements.

Count *Stratman*, a Minister in great Credit with the Emperour, and who had been a Pensioner to his Majesty when he served the Elector *Palatine* of *Newburg*, had formed a Design to unite the Forces and Families of *France* and *Austria*. *Kinski* approved of this Design; and was, in reality, exasperated against *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, which were well known to endeavour to make a Treaty of Partition of all the Dominions of the King of *Spain* before his Death, without once consulting the Emperour.

*Kinski*




*Kinski* therefore addressed himself one <sup>1698.</sup> Day, in an Anti-Chamber of the Imperial Palace, to *Marquiss de Villars*, and said to him; *Are not the Emperour and the King powerful enough to act without Guardians? His Catholick Majesty is in good Health; but should Heaven take him from us, is it not possible for Potentates who are so powerful and so nearly related to live in good Intelligence? This, said Villars, is the first Overture you have made me; I did not lay much stress on those of some of your Ministers, when he, whom we know to be the Chief, did not once speak to me. Your Silence has prompted his Majesty to command me to be silent also.* *Kinski* answered; *the Emperour keeps all his Forces on foot. He has an hundred and thirty thousand Men. His Generals and Soldiers are in great Reputation. Now, should our Sovereigns enter into a strict Union, what Powers in Europe would be able to annoy them? Let them therefore consider their own Interest, and not divide the Monarchy of Spain, to serve that of Great-Britain and the United Provinces.*

A few Days after, a great piece of News arrived from *Madrid*, viz. that the King of *Spain* had drawn up a Will, signed by all the Councillours of State, in favour of the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*. This made all the Powers interested in this

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Affair

1698.  Affair form new Projects; the chief Potentates, for their own private Interest, and the rest, to secure, if possible, a general Peace, which would seem to be more solid in *Europe*, in case the Crown of *Spain* were to sit on one Head, than if it were shar'd between the Emperour and his Majesty.

The Prince of *Saxony* (Bishop of *Raab*) and the Bishop of *Kiovia*, doubtful of the Resolution which the King and the Emperour might take with regard to the *Spanish* Succession, used their utmost Endeavours to engage the King in the Interest of their Sovereign, and for this purpose made the greatest Advances. Marquiss *de Villars*, by the King's Order, employed Expressions, which, without binding his Majesty, only testified his Gratitude, and how much he approved of this Alliance. Some private Conferences held between Count *Kinski* and Marquiss *de Villars*, gave the *Sieur Hoop* a Suspicion, that the Court of *Vienna* would at last treat directly with the King, which the *English* and *Dutch* considered as very disadvantageous to their Interest. Mr. *Hoop* lived in very great Familiarity with Marquiss *de Villars*; but the former being a Minister of the maritime Powers, the stay of the latter at *Vienna* was judged by

by the *Sieur Hoop* as dangerous to the Interest of his Masters; and 'tis very probable that he had a great Hand in an Affair, which not only plunged *Marquiss de Villars* in very great Difficulties, but had afterwards like to have broke off all Correspondence between the Courts of *Spain* and *Vienna*. As the concluding of this Affair was attended with very great Difficulties, it will not be improper to be a little particular in the Causes of it. 1698.

A Serenade followed by a Ball, were given at Court. The only Apartment in all the Emperour's Palace, fit for this Divertisement, and in which 'tis usually given, is a very large, lofty Room, in the Apartment of the Empress-Dowager; and part of this Apartment belongs to the Archduke. 1699.

'Tis the Custom in these Grand Balls at *Vienna*, for none to be present at them except those for whom they are immediately made. Nevertheless, to oblige the Embassadors and foreign Ministers with a sight of this, seven or eight Galleries had been made which were separated from the Ball-Room by a kind of Rail; and opposite to it, a sort of Throne was raised, for the Emperour and the Empress. In the Galleries were seated the Pope's Nuncio, the Embassador of *Spain*, that of *Venice*,  
 O 2 who

1699. who had not yet seen the Archduke ;  
 that of *Savoy*, and several other nameless  
 Foreigners. Marquiss *de Villars* went to  
 it in Company with the *Sieur Hoop*. A  
 Moment after the Ball was begun, Mar-  
 quiss *de Villars* went up to the Bishop of  
*Raab*, who was supping upon some Viands  
 which came from the Emperour's Table,  
 in one of these little Galleries, which  
 showed that the Place was not very re-  
 tired. The Prince of *Lichtenstein*, Go-  
 vernour to the Archduke, no sooner saw  
 Marquiss *de Villars*, but he came up to  
 him. Mr. *Hoop* stood just between the  
 Prince of *Lichtenstein* and Marquiss *de*  
*Villars*, when this Prince said, with an  
 Air of Severity, to the latter, *That it was*  
*very extraordinary, as he had not yet seen*  
*the Archduke, that he should come there,*  
*for which reason he desired him to withdraw.*  
 Marquiss *de Villars* answered, *that he had*  
*great reason to believe himself in the Empe-*  
*rour's Palace, and in a Place where little*  
*Ceremony was made, since private Suppers*  
*were given in it ; that besides, several of*  
*those who were admitted to see the Ball, had*  
*not received Audience of the Archduke ; not*  
*even Mr. Hoop, whom the Prince might*  
*have spoke to, (he standing, as was before*  
*observed, between the Prince of Lichten-*  
*stein and Marquiss de Villars.)* The latter,  
 after

after receiving his Answer, left the Gallery, but Mr. Hoop staid. 1699.

This Incident put the whole Court in Emotion, and surprized all who heard of it. First, no one could imagine, that the Ball-Room could be called the Archduke's Apartment, at the time that the Emperour was there. Secondly, it seemed strange, that Prince *de Lichtenstein* did not direct himself to Mr. Hoop, who also had not seen the Archduke, any more than the Envoys of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, who arrived at *Vienna* before Marquiss *de Villars*. The latter made very serious Complaints upon this Account to Count *de Kaunits*, who only promised to inform the Emperour of it.

In the mean time, Marquiss *de Villars* avoided, in the Emperour's Anti-chambers, those Discourses in which the *Spanish* Embassador, (who censured more publickly than any other, the Prince of *Lichtenstein*'s Imprudence) would have engaged him, as well as the rest of the foreign Ministers. An instant after, a Report was spread, that the Prince of *Lichtenstein* was very much vexed at what he had done: and at his having followed imprudently the ill Advice which had been given him.



1699. The next Day, Marquifs *de Villars* met, in the Emperour's Anti-chamber, Count *Kinski*, who said to him, *I am very sorry for what happened lately, but it shan't prevent our Correspondence, on the Affair you know.* And indeed, a great Advantage might be gained from it; and as this Dispute gave occasion to several Conferences with the Prime-Minister, and to the sending of several Couriers, it was of great use to conceal a Negotiation, which the King and the Emperour were desirous of keeping secret, because 'twas very much the Interest of the maritime Powers to perplex it.

For this reason Marquifs *de Villars* did not once mention the Treatment he had met with from Prince *Lichtenstein*. After having complained to Count *Kaunits*, as he was obliged to do, he waited the King's Orders, to whom he had dispatched a Courier; behaving in such a manner, that 'twas in his Sovereign's Power to take more or less Umbrage at what happened, as might suit his Interest.

At this time, a piece of News, of the greatest Importance to all *Europe*, and especially to the Courts of *France* and *Vienna*, was brought to the latter Court; viz. the Death of the Electoral Prince, who was considered as Heir to the Monarchy

narchy of *Spain*. Thus, there were none <sup>1699.</sup>  
but two Competitors that had a right to  
this Crown, both of whom were animated  
by all the Circumstances which are most  
apt to fire the Soul of two great Princes  
with Glory and Ambition.

On this News, Count *Kinski* spoke certain Words to Marquiss *de Villars*, from which one might conclude, that he was persuaded, it would not have occasioned so bloody a War, as broke out a little after.

Count *Harach* was at last nominated Lord High-Steward, the Ceremony of which is performed in the Emperour's Anti-chamber, by a Harangue spoke by the Lord Chamberlain, which the Lord High-Steward afterwards answers.

Altho' Count *Harach* had the greatest share in the Emperour's Friendship, not to mention his being supported by a powerful Cabal, *Kinski* was in reality Prime-Minister, at the Head of the little Council called the *Deputation*; and he only made the Report of what his Imperial Majesty had declared there. It was even said, that this Council should still exist, that Count *Harach* would not assist at it; that he should preside over all the rest of the Councils, which were very inconsiderable in comparison of this; and that, moreover, he was to enjoy all the Honours

1699. and Prerogatives of the Lord High-Steward.

This Expedient, the only one his Imperial Majesty could hit upon, could not obliterate from his Mind, the dark Impressions which the refusal of the Post of Lord High-Steward had formed in it. He swallowed the Pill, tho' so poorly gilded, but did not digest it; for he fell sick, and died in a few Days. During his Sickness, his Imperial Majesty sent daily, some Person of Distinction to enquire the State of his Health; and often sent Father *Menegati* the Jesuit (his Confessor) for that purpose. *Kinski* said to him; *The Emperour does too much Honour to such a Worm as I am; and yet he himself, notwithstanding his Imperial Dignity, is as much a Worm as I am.* 'Tis certain that Count *Kinski* died of grief, a dangerous Malady, with which Prime Ministers are but too often attacked. We may relate, on this occasion, a Story which Count *Harach* told Marquis *de Villars*, concerning another chief Minister, whom the Emperour also killed, but in a shorter time.

At the time that *Vienna* was upon the point of being taken by the *Turks*, the Imperial Army, marched to its Succour, under the Command of the King of *Poland*, the Duke of *Lorraine*, several considerable

considerable Electors and Princes of the Empire; his Imperial Majesty was also desirous of marching on this occasion; but the Meakness which was natural to that Prince, prompted him to debate that Affair first with his Ministers. Count *de Zintzendorff*, one of those who had the greatest Credit with his Imperial Majesty, opposed, with some other Ministers, this Design of his Sovereign, possibly in the view of making his Court to him. The Emperour had more Resolution than he discovered in the Council, of which he gave a proof on several Occasions. In that in question, he abandonned himself to the indolent Counsels which his Ministers gave him; and so only followed his Army, in a Barge on the *Danube*. He was persuaded, that in case the Imperial Arms should be victorious, he himself would be the first who should enter his Capital.

He sailed the whole Night, and the Day after the Battle, arrived, by six in the Morning, at the Gates of *Vienna*. As he was coming out of the Barge, he heard the Salvoes of Artillery, and of the small Arms from the Ramparts.


The King of *Poland* was gone by Day-break, to the Cathedral, in order to have *Te Deum* Sung, an Honour to which the

1699. Emperour himself aspired. - His Imperial Majesty enquiring the reason of these Salvoes, was answered, *The King of Poland has caused Te Deum to be Sung.* Immediately the Emperour, turning about to Count *Zintzendorff* who was in the Barge, said to him with an angry Tone; *The Weakness of the Advice in which you participated, has occasioned the Disgrace I now suffer.* Count *Harach* related, that Count *Zintzendorff* was seized with a sudden trembling at these Words, and he was so strongly affected, that he died the next Day. We thought it might not be improper to relate this little piece of History, which Count *Harach* told Marquis *de Villars*.

The Death of Count *Kinski*, the only Minister who had hinted to the Marquis the Project of a Union between the Houses of *France* and *Austria*, suspended this important Negotiation for some time; but it was afterwards resumed by the Counts *Harach* and *Kaunits*.

The Queen of the *Romans* made her Entry the 24<sup>th</sup> of *February* 1699. The Nobility and People displayed chiefly their Magnificence on this occasion. With regard to the Emperour, there was nothing more than ordinary, except that a new Coach was made for the Queen,  
which



which was the only one that was new. The 1699.  
Ladies of her Bed-Chamber rode in three   
very old ones. The Countess of *Caraffa*,  
first Lady of her Bed-Chamber, was only  
in the Coach with her Majesty; and  
Princesses did not support the Train in  
this Ceremony, the first Lady of the Bed-  
Chamber not allowing them the Prece-  
dency. Nor did the Princess appear at  
the Nuptials, they not having any rank  
on this occasion. The Princes of *Savoy*,  
of *Commercy*, and of *Vaudemont*, had no-  
tice sent the Night before, on which  
occasion they asked, if it was by the Em-  
perour's Order; and were told by the  
chief Harbinger, whose Duty it is to  
give notice of all Ceremonies and Festi-  
vals, that he had been commanded to  
give them notice, in common with other  
Gentlemen. They went and had this Af-  
fair explained, when they were dispensed  
from assisting at the Ceremony. Marquiss  
*de Villars* saw the Train pass along, which  
he thought very far from Magnificent.  
The Triumphal Arches were noble, the  
Fireworks very fine, but the rest was  
very indifferent. The Cardinals and Em-  
bassadors supped with the Emperour.

The Night before the Queen's Entry,  
the King of the *Romans* had rode Post  
two Leagues, to a Town where the Prin-

1699. cefs then was. This Journey is enacted  
 by the Imperial Laws. The King fet  
 out from *Vienna* on Horfeback, preceeded  
 by forty Postillions, all blowing their  
 Horns, with the Post-Master-General at  
 their Head. After the King, followed  
 the great Officers, and fuch Gentlemen as  
 he was pleased to Honour on this occa-  
 sion with attending him. All the Citizens  
 were in their Balconies, or at their Win-  
 dows, which were adorned with Tapestry  
 in expectation of the return of the King,  
 who came back thro' the Street in which  
 his Miftrefs lived, tho' far the longest way.  
 As the Train passed before her House, the  
 Postillions blew their Horns and smacked  
 their Whips, much louder than before;  
 the King of the *Romans* smacking his  
 louder than any other Person. Marquifs  
*de Villars* was then in the same House  
 with Mademoiselle *de Thaur*, who seemed  
 highly delighted with the King's Gallan-  
 try; but it did not please the Emprefs.

To return to State-Affairs; the Prince  
 of *Saxony-Zeits*, (Bishop of *Raab*,) and the  
 Bishop of *Kiovia*, Envoy of *Poland*, were  
 daily very urgent with Marquifs *de Villars*,  
 to settle a perfect Intelligence between his  
*Gallic* Majesty, and the King of *Poland*  
 their Sovereign. His Majesty sent a fa-  
 vourable Answer to their Entreaties; but  
 the

the ill Treatment the *French* Embassador, 1699. and some of our Ships, had met with from the City of *Dantzick*, made him require Satisfaction to be made before he should enter into any Treaty, or send any Minister in his Name. The Difficulties which arose upon this account lasted some Months.

But now the Courier which Marquiss *de Villars* had sent to his Majesty, to acquaint him with the Affair of Prince *de Lichtenstein*, returned to *Vienna*. His Majesty considered the Behaviour of this Prince as an Insult, and sent Marquiss *de Villars* Orders in what manner to act. He was commanded, not to desire an Audience of the Emperour to complain of what had passed, but to speak once only to Count *Kinski*, and to tell him, that he was ordered not to solicit for satisfaction; his Majesty being persuaded it would have been made that Moment; and that it would derogate from his Dignity, to wait till such time as it should be made on Remonstrances, as the Insult was given in the Emperour's Presence, and at a time that his Prime Minister was making considerable Overtures, in order to unite the two Houses: In fine, that his Powers were suspended, till such time as full Satisfaction should be made; and, that he

was

1699. was commanded to go no more to the Imperial Palace, nor to the Houses of any of his Ministers.

The Satisfaction required was, that the Emperour should order Prince *de Lichtenstein* to wait upon Marquiss *de Villars*; to assure him that he was extremely sorry for what had happened, and for his having been wanting in the Respect due to his Character.

Marquiss *de Villars* was likewise ordered to speak to Count *Kinski*, with regard to the Overtures he had made him, and to inform him of the just Reasons the King had, not to believe that the Emperour's Intentions were so sincere, as his Prime Minister assured; that his Majesty had heard of all the Steps which the Court of *Vienna* had taken, immediately after the Peace of *Ryswick*, in order to revive a League against *France*, and to raise a Suspicion in the Protestant Powers; that these Steps indeed might be denied, but that 'twas different with regard to those Things which happened under the Emperour's Eye; for instance, the Speech of the Chancellor of *Austria*, who demanded fresh Supplies of the States, and by that means prepared them for the carrying on a new War with *France*. Marquiss *de Villars* was to end with the Affair  
of

of the Prince of *Lichtenstein*, and show 1699. Count *Kinski*, that his Majesty was of Opinion, the Imperialists did not prepare so much for a sincere Union, as an open Rupture.

Count *Kinski* was dead when these Orders came to *Vienna*. This Minister had assured the Marquis, that the late unlucky Affair should not interrupt the Negotiation. He employed all the Arguments possible, to persuade *Villars*, that he was very sorry for what had happened; but that it should not put a stop to the Affairs they might concert together.


'Tis certain that the Courts of *Vienna* and *France*, nurtur'd in that antient Jealousy which had fomented Wars, almost perpetually, ever since *Charles V.* and *Francis I.* could not sincerely desire a Reconciliation, in the present Juncture, viz. the hourly-expected Death of the King of *Spain*. Each of them had severally endeavoured to procure Alliances ever since the Peace of *Ryswick*; and *Great-Britain* and the States-General, had been first addressed on this occasion. 'Twas so much the Interest of these Powers, never to suffer the re-union of the two Houses, that they courted both to enter into an Alliance with them. The Imperialists, who, a little before had sustained a long War in concert,



1699. concert, and united with them, had not  
 w obtained, at the Conclusion of the Peace,  
 the Conditions they desired. They there-  
 fore continued the War a Year longer,  
 and for this Reason, because these two  
 Powers had concluded a separate Peace,  
 which Circumstance had prompted Count  
*Kinski* to endeavour at a Union of the  
 Houses of *France* and *Austria*; a Project  
 that had been already formed by Count  
*Stratman*, and which, had it succeeded,  
 would have been equally glorious and ad-  
 vantageous to those two illustrious Houses.  
 But both had such strong Reasons to con-  
 ceal their Design; and Mr. *Hoop*, Envoy  
 of *Great-Britain* and the States-General,  
 endeavoured so assiduously to penetrate it,  
 that 'twas absolutely necessary for them to  
 conceal even the most inconsiderable Steps.  
 This also suspended so long the compo-  
 sition of the Affair, which kept Marquiss  
*de Villars* from the Emperour's Palace.

The King, to show *Great-Britain* and  
 the States, that he had little regard for  
 the Emperour, demanded the highest Sa-  
 tisfaction. We must give the Reason why  
 the Prince of *Lichtenstein* scrupled to make  
 any.

He was Governour, as was observed, to  
 the Archduke, which Employment is called  
 in the Court of *Vienna*, as at that of *Ma-  
 drid*,

*drid, Hayo*. Now the *Hayo* are perpetually 1699.   
with the Princes under their Care; never  
visit, nor leave the Palace but in Com-  
pany with their Royal Pupil. The King  
of *France* required, that the Prince of  
*Lichtenstein* should come to Marquiss *de*  
*Villars's* House; and this Prince declared  
publickly, that he would lose his Head,  
sooner than it should be said, that a Prince  
of *Lichtenstein*, was the first *Hayo*, who  
had infringed the Laws of the Palace.  
And indeed, the Emperour made this of-  
fer to Marquiss *de Villars*, viz. that Count  
*Kaunits*, Vice-Chancellor of the Empire,  
and Minister for foreign Affairs, should  
wait upon him, in the Emperour's Name,  
and declare the Uneasiness which the late  
Transaction had given his Imperial Ma-  
jesty. Marquiss *de Villars* thought this a  
more ample Satisfaction than the former;  
but his orders were decisive, and 'twas not  
in his Power to change them. Mr. *Hoop*  
offered to promote the Reconciliation,  
but with so much Coldness, as plainly  
showed he did not wish Success to the Ne-  
gotiation.

The Pope's Nuncio and all the rest of  
the Embassadors were desirous of employ-  
ing their good Offices; but 'twas to no pur-  
pose, for Marquiss *de Villars* was fixed to  
one

1699. one Point, and was obliged to get over it without the least Modification.

While these Things were doing, the Court of *Vienna* was very much perplexed, and particularly fludious, so to order Matters, that the maritime Powers might not have the least suspicion, that the Emperour was desirous of uniting with *France*. For these various Reasons, the Satisfaction required was delayed.

In the mean time, as has been already said, the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria* died at *Brussels* the 6<sup>th</sup> of *February*. His Death quite changed all the Measures which had been taken by the several Powers, who were for preventing a War; or rather, the whole Crown of *Spain* from being fixed upon one or two Heads. For *Great-Britain* and *Holland* were more afraid of having the *Spanish* Dominions divided between the *French* King and the Emperour, than subject to the latter only; which could never happen, in case those two Powers should join with his *Gallic* Majesty to prevent it.

The Count *de Soissons* arrived at *Vienna* about this time, unexpected by every one, and even by the Prince of *Savoy* his Brother, at whose House Marquiss *de Villars* was, when News was brought, that  
Count

Count *de Soissons* was coming to him on 1699.  
foot.

About the same time, Marquiss *de Villars* received Orders from the King, to leave *Vienna* in a Fortnight, in case the Prince of *Lichtenstein* did not, by that time, make full Satisfaction, and agreeable in all Respects to the King's Demands. The Marquiss declared his Orders, in the very Words he had received them, to Count *Harach*; Count *Kaunitz* having set out, three Days before, upon a Journey which would take up some Weeks.

Upon this Declaration of Marquiss *de Villars*, a Conference was held the next Day in the Emperour's Presence, to which not only all the private Ministers were summoned, but also the greatest Part of the great Officers. The Opinions were various; the most judicious declared immediately, that ample Satisfaction ought to be made his Majesty; but the Majority, considering the Law abovementioned relating to the *Hayo* invariable, would sooner have dispensed with their religious Principles, than depart a Tittle from the Law abovementioned.

While these Things were transacting, all the foreign Ministers were Day and Night at Marquiss *de Villars*; and never  
were

1699. were so many Arrifices and specious Reasons employed to seduce any Man.

In a Word, they put off every thing till the last Moment, when Marquifs *de Villars*, just ready to put his Orders in Execution, sent for Post-Horfes, and had his Berlin brought out.

About three in the Afternoon, the Embassador of *Savoy* came again, and said, he had lost all Hopes; upon which the Marquifs, finding no change, caused his Berlin, and his Domesticks to leave *Vienna*. When things were carried to this Extremity, the Embassador above-mentioned returning, begged him to stay one Moment longer; and, (tho' he had no hopes) he yet besought him to wait till he was come back from the Imperial Palace. At last, the Embassador came back, and gave him his Word and Honour that every thing he had desired should be complied with immediately. Upon this, his Berlin and all his Domesticks were sent for back; a great Croud was got before the Door, and the Prince of *Lichtenstein* waited whilst the Embassador abovenamed was, at last, desiring only, that the Prince might be excused from coming into the Room, in which was his Majesty's Picture. But these petty Difficulties served only to heighten the Splendor



dor of the Conclusion. Marquifs *de Villars* 1699. Gentlemen and his chief Domesticks were in the Apartment with him. The Pages and Footmen lighted their Flambeaux, the instant the Prince of *Lichtenstein* went away, after having made an Apology, for his Behaviour, to Marquifs *de Villars*. Thus the Satisfaction which his Majesty had demanded was given, and made public that Moment.

As this Affair seemed at first, of very great Importance at *Vienna*; and that the King had required a Submission which interfered with the Imperial Laws, the Conclusion did Honour to Marquifs *de Villars*.


The Instant the Dispute was ended, Count *Kaunits* resumed with Marquifs *de Villars* the Overtures which Count *Kinski* had made. The latter, a little before he died, had spoke to Count *Kaunits*; and seemed troubled, that the Imprudence of Prince *de Lichtenstein*, had suspended Negotiations of so much Importance as those which were then upon the Carpet.

Marquifs *de Villars* received Letters from his Majesty, who appeared highly satisfied at the Conduct he had observed, in so very delicate an Affair. At the same time he was commanded to tell Count *Kaunits*, that the King was desirous of engaging

1699. gaging in such Measures with the Emperour, as might prevent a War in case of the King of *Spain's* Death; and that he should be very glad to see all the Plans which the Imperial Ministers should draw up on this occasion; ordering Marquiss *de Villars* to send them to him, with all imaginable Dispatch, by a Courier.

As 'twas three Months since the Marquiss had been at the Imperial Court, he could not stay the Compliments, in his Majesty's Name, to the Emperour, and to the King and Queen of the *Romans* on their Marriage: But after the Satisfaction above related was made, he went to *Luxemburg*. He there met with a very gracious Reception from the Emperour, and was admitted to all the Audiences that Day. The Emperour, who was sincerely desirous of a re-union with his Majesty, expressed himself to that purpose, and in a manner very different from the serious Air which is generally observed at Audiences.

The King then wrote to Marquiss *de Villars*, that he had arrested Count *de Boselli*, upon receiving Advice, that he intended to take away the Life of *William* King of *Great-Britain*. This *Boselli*, who certainly was a most wicked Wretch, and was afterwards executed for numberless Crimes,

Crimes, might justly be thought guilty of 1699. the greatest; and fled from the *Bastille*. 

But now the Prince of *Lichtenstein* endeavoured to soften the Satisfaction he had made. 'Twas even pretended, that the Embassador of *Savoy*, in a Letter to his Sovereign, did not give a just Account of what had passed. Marquiss *de Villars* hearing of it, went to that Embassador, requiring a Declaration signed by him, and agreeable to the Relation he had transmitted to his Majesty.

Hitherto the Counts *Harach* and *Kaunits* had, in outward Appearance, desired sincerely, to treat with Marquiss *de Villars* concerning the *Spanish* Succession. But 'tis very probable that, amused by Mr. *Hoop*, who made them very specious Promises in the Name of his two Sovereigns, they would have been pleased had his Majesty been less reserved.

At last, Count *Kaunits* spoke, and said to Marquiss *de Villars*: *You must have been surprized, at my not having once spoke to you these twelve Days, about our grand Affair. I'll tell you what passed the first time I discoursed on this subject with his Imperial Majesty. He seemed to me, by the Joy I saw in his Eyes, and by his Discourse, extremely desirous of coming to a good Understanding with the King; and said to me, re-*  
*flect*

1699. *flect upon it, and tell me your Thoughts as soon as you can. The second time I spoke to his Imperial Majesty about it, he said; I have told Count Harach my Thoughts on this Affair, so would have you confer upon it. This we are now doing; and the Emperour declared to us, that we only should be his Confidants on this occasion. The Count added; this I have to inform you as a Statesman; but to speak as Count de Kaunits, I conjure you not to be uneasy at Delays, for I dare not presume to hope, that they will ever be ended. After this, he not only desired that every thing might be kept secret, but also that they should take the most inconsiderable Steps with the utmost Circumspection, because they would be watched, even by the Emperour's Ministers.*

The King then wrote to Marquiss *de Villars*, that he had at last agreed with *Great-Britain*, upon a Treaty of Partition with regard to the *Spanish* Succession; that the States-General were to join in it, and that *Mr. Hoop* was to acquaint the Emperour therewith. At the same time, his Majesty sent him the Conditions of it, but with orders not to meddle in the Affair, but leave the whole to *Mr. Hoop*, who afterwards found the Emperour very much dissatisfied

dissatisfied with the Partition proposed to him. 1699.

The Court of *Madrid* was at that time in a very great ferment; and their Embassador at *Vienna*, who concealed nothing from *Villars*, declared often to him, that the *Spaniards* were, now not so desirous of any thing, as to be governed by a Grandson of *France*; that they perhaps would have wished rather for the Archduke, but that as they were sensible the Emperour was not able to support them, the report of a Partition of their Empire, was an inexpressible Grief to the whole Kingdom.

Marquiss *de Villars* was ordered, in general, to listen to every thing without making any Answer; and to speak with the view only of making others open themselves. The King commanded him, (upon the Discourses of the *Spanish* Embassador) to ask him, who those *Spaniards* were, that, to avoid a Partition of their Monarchy, would have Resolution enough to exert themselves in order to prevent it. And indeed, to affirm that the Nation would chuse to be governed by a Grandson of *France*, preferable to any other Prince, was speaking random Words, which conveyed no solid meaning. Consequently, before the *French* Court could entertain any thoughts of it,



1699. 'twould be proper to get a more exact Account of the Names and Forces of those who were in the *French* Interest. This was what *Villars* represented also to the Ambassador, who, a little after, spoke publickly enough of the Partition, and in a manner conformable to his former Expressions. He asserted, that the King of *Spain* would never consent to it; and that his Sovereign would acquaint all the Powers of *Europe*, with the unworthy Treatment he had met with from *Great-Britain*, and the *United-Provinces*.

The Ambassador in question, desired Audience of the Emperour, to complain, in the strongest Terms, with regard to the Negotiation of *Loo*, at which Place, *Great-Britain* and the States were making the Treaty of Partition. The Emperour answered, that he had no concern with the Affair of *Loo*; that he protested to the Truth of this; and would never consent to the dissevering of the *Spanish* Monarchy.

The Ambassador did not conceal from Marquiss *de Villars*, the several things that passed between the Emperour and him, nor even the Advices he received from *Spain*. Speaking to him of the various Abilities of the *Spanish* Ministers, he said, that Count *Aguilar* was bolder than the rest,

rest, but had not so much Credit; that, <sup>1699.</sup> with regard to himself, he was quite tired with writing to Ministers who were equally needless and impotent; that the King's Authority now appeared only, in the sending from Time to Time, Letters, to dispossess one Person or other of his Employment, frequently without Reason, and always without the Hopes that better Ministers would rise up; so that at last, he was going to resign his Employment. During the Heat of his Resentment, he vigorously attacked Mr. *Hoop*, concerning the Division of the *Spanish* Monarchy, which he said was a bold, unparalleled Enterprize.

The Emperour protested, that he had no Engagements with any of those Powers; nevertheless, after the several Overtures which had been made by Counts *Harach*, *Kinski* and *Kaunits*, nothing was afterwards said to Marquis *de Villars*; whence it was believed, either that the Court of *Vienna* expected more favourable Treatment from the Powers who had treated about the Partition, or that the King approved of what was transacting in *Holland*.

The *Spanish* Embassador, urged by the continuance of a Negotiation which he could not carry on any longer, said to


1699. Marquifs *de Villars*, that he had told his Sovereign in Writing, that in case he were indifferent with regard to the difmembring of his Monarchy, 'twould be more glorious for him to divide it, in a proper manner, between the Emperour and the *French* King ; but that if he were defirous of having it kept entire, the only Expedient would be, to declare one of his *Gallic* Majesty's Grandfons his univerfal Heir, with a Prohibition to difmember any Part of his Dominions.

This Embaffador faid further to Marquifs *de Villars*, “ Act cautiously ;  
 “ gain the favour (but filently,) of the  
 “ Court of *Spain*. It takes fuch very  
 “ wrong Steps, like that of *Vienna*, that  
 “ all things will confpire to fet the Crown  
 “ of the entire Monarchy upon the Head  
 “ of one of your Princes, without there  
 “ being the leaft occafion for you to take  
 “ one fingle Step.”

It may not be improper to relate an Incident, to fhew how very jealous this Embaffador was of his Country's Honour. One Day, as Mr. *Hoop* was cenfuring the Conduct of the Marquifs *de Canales*, the *Spanifh* Embaffador at *London*, for having prefented a Memorial to the Regency in *England*, to complain of the Reports which were fpread with regard to the Partition ;

tition ; and declaring, that 'twas surpriz- 1699.  
 ing Men should presume to give Memo-  
 rials to Subjects with regard to the Con-  
 duct of their King, the Embassador re-  
 plied, “ Subjects who dethrone their  
 “ King, and elect another ; who even,  
 “ by their pretended Laws, put a third  
 “ to Death ; and who have, very lately,  
 “ carried on a War against the Will of  
 “ their Monarch, who, in the Affair of  
 “ *Darien*, is reduced to this only Answer,  
 “ that he cannot oppose the Ordinances  
 “ of a *Scotch* Parliament ; such Subjects  
 “ are no ways looked upon as those of  
 “ his most Christian Majesty.” These  
 Words of the *Spanish* Embassador, (so  
 grating to an *English* Minister,) shocked  
 Mr. *Hoop* very much, insomuch that he  
 flew into a great Passion, which, how-  
 ever, the *Spanish* Embassador answered no  
 otherwise than by a contemptuous Smile.

In the mean time, positive Advice was  
 brought, that the Emperour had refused  
 the Proposals with regard to the Partition,  
 as made by *Great-Britain* and the *United*  
*Provinces* ; but that Prince being persuad-  
 ed, that his Majesty acted in concert with  
 those two Powers, he therefore turned his  
 Views towards *Madrid*. The King of  
*Spain*, and the Queen were entirely for  
 the Emperour ; but several of the Mini-

1699.  sters of that Court, being persuaded that the Emperour and the King of *Spain*, could not withstand the United Forces of *France, England, Holland*, and the many other Alliances which had been formed in the North ; were inclined to resign themselves up entirely to his *Gallic* Majesty, in order that one of his Grandsons might enjoy the whole *Spanish* Monarchy : This being the only way to defeat the Treaty of Partition, which they considered as the greatest Evil that could befall them.

The Count of *Soissons* being arrived at *Vienna*, and not knowing what to do, came to Marquiss *de Villars*, to whom he related all his Misfortunes, and especially his Sorrow for having displeased the King. He declared, that the only Favour he desired, was, to expiate his Faults ; and for this purpose, he besought his Majesty to let him surrender himself in any Prison in *France* he might please to appoint, and there remain during his Majesty's Pleasure. The King bid him continue to serve such Princes as he might think proper, but not presume to set his Foot in *France*.

The unexpected War which broke out between the King of *Poland* and *Sweden*, surprized most of the Powers of *Europe*. The former Prince invaded *Livonia*. All *Poland* seemed to conspire to that Enterprize ;



prize; and 'twas certain, that the Emperor <sup>1699.</sup> could not believe that the aggrandizing of such Neighbours suited his Interest. The War opened very happily for General *Flemming*, who surprized a strong Fort, opposite to *Riga*, the taking of which very much facilitated that of *Riga* itself, an important City on which all *Livonia* depends, one of the richest Provinces in the *Swedish* Dominions.

The Court of *Vienna* did not concern itself in this War; but *Denmark*, entering into an Alliance with *Poland*, prepared to attack *Sweden*; and this was the beginning of a War which lasted till 1719.

Marquiss *de Villars* was commanded to declare, that the King had given Orders for surrendring up *Brissac* to the Emperor, the first of *April* 1700. This Court had long been very patient with regard to the Restitution of that Town; being sensible, that the only Motive of this Delay, was, that it might be done conformable to the Peace of *Ryswick*.

The Audience which Marquiss *de Villars* could not yet receive of the Archduke, occasioned by a numberless Multitude of Difficulties, which were raised by most of the Ministers of *Europe*, was at

1699. last regulated, agreeable to the Intentions of his Majesty.

Marquifs *de Villars* was introduced to that Prince, who uncovered himself every time the Marquifs repeated his Majesty's Name, or that the Prince himself named him. This Affair being ended, Count *Harach* spoke to Marquifs *de Villars* on the same subject, which had been already debated by Counts *Kinski* and *Kaunits*. He declared, that a true, sincere Union ought to be established between the King and the Emperour; and that they should despise the Views of those Powers, who upon pretence of settling the Peace of *Europe*, would ruin it by continual Wars. As Marquifs *de Villars* was not ordered to make any Advances, his Silence put an End to that Minister's Discourse, who only said these Words, *Sir, you know more than you are willing to reveal; and 'twould be Time lost to discourse upon a Subject, which nevertheless deserves to be weighed a little more seriously by his Gallic Majesty.*

Marquifs *de Villars* transmitted an exact Account of this Conversation, and took the Liberty to represent to the King, by strong and very convincing Reasons, that 'twould be safest, most advantageous, and most suitable to the two Heads of the most formidable Families in *Europe* to unite together;

gether ; that the Partition would not establish a Peace ; that the Emperour, by hazarding every thing to prevent it, the beginning of the Rupture might not be favourable to him ; but that the Consequences of it would be long and dangerous, whereas, was a Harmony to subsist between the King and his Imperial Majesty, the Forces they had actually on foot, would put them in a Condition, to support the most glorious Partition, and most advantageous to both. 1699.

Count *Harach*, in another Conversation, employed all the Arguments he could think of, to prove to the Marquis, that *Great-Britain* and *Holland* were intent upon nothing but their own Interest ; that the Partition proposed suited only those Powers ; and that the only glorious and useful one, was that which should unite for ever, and without the least shadow of Diffidence, the two most powerful Princes of *Europe*. Marquis *de Villars* seems to have been perfectly persuaded of this Truth ; since he was for ever inculcating it to his Sovereign ; often sacrificing Court-Policy to his Zeal. He even was frequently obliged to beseech his Majesty to pardon him ; in case he sometimes was too free in his Expressions. But the orders he received were precise ; and

1699. such, that he could not hint to any of the Emperour's Ministers, the least hope that those Measures could be changed, which he suspected were already taken between the King, *Great-Britain* and the *United-Provinces*.

As it nevertheless happens that, in Affairs of the greatest Importance, those Powers who imagine they have settled every Thing, do nevertheless fear or apprehend some Revolution; Marquiss *de Villars* fancied he perceived by the Discourses of the Ministers, that they flattered themselves with the Hopes that some Alteration would be made in the Treaty of Partition, which was looked upon as fixed, tho' not made public; and the King, on the other Side, gave Marquiss *de Villars* to understand, that he would send him Orders immediately.

The War which was begun by the King of *Poland*, dissatisfied all the Powers that were desirous of Peace: But those very Powers, who, at another Time would soon have silenced the Aggressor, were employed about Matters of greater Consequence to them; and the Uncertainty of the Motions which the expected Death of the King of *Spain* would produce, left *Poland*, *Denmark*, *Prussia* and the *Czar*, at full Liberty to unite together, to ruin  
*Sweden*;

*Sweden*; or at least to invade the Rights of that Crown, which was very much exposed to its greedy Neighbours. 1699.

The League which was formed between so many Powers, soon gave the intrepid Valour of the *Swedish* Monarch, an Opportunity to acquire a Glory, which would have surpassed that of the greatest Conquerors, had the contempt of Dangers, that was natural to him, and which was so conspicuous in that young Hero as to be unparalleled, been accompanied with this Reflection, so necessary for all great Men, and especially for Kings, *viz.* that a proper Distinction ought to be made between such Dangers as suit crown'd Heads, and those which are beneath, and consequently ought to be despised, by them.

This War began therefore in the North; to the Dissatisfaction of almost all *Europe*; a Dissatisfaction which however displayed itself but by faint Offices. And that which was thought to be no more than a Fire which might easily be extinguished, breaks out again at the Time we are writing these Memoirs; and this War of one part of *Europe*, has left an open Field to all those which have since so violently shaken the other Monarchies, that in every one of them the Kings have either

P 6


been



1699. been drove from their Capitals, or their  
 Crowns very much endangered.

To return to the Transactions of *Vienna*, where the Negotiations were now very important by the Dispatches of the King, which were brought to Marquiss *de Villars*, dated the 6<sup>th</sup> of *May* 1700.

1700. By these Letters his Majesty gave Marquiss *de Villars* the Reason, why he could not let him hearken to the Proposals which the Emperour's Ministers had made him, with respect to a Partition of the *Spanish* Monarchy. These Reasons were founded, on the just Suspicions the King had room to entertain, of the Emperour's vast Designs, founded on the Confidence he placed in the Allies who had assisted him in carrying on the last War; and on the Hopes which his Embassadors at *Madrid* gave him. In fine, the King, persuaded that the Emperour was persuaded he should succeed to all the *Spanish* Dominions, thought it would not be proper to appear desirous of treating with that Prince. On the contrary, he looked upon, as infinitely more secure, in order to preserve the Tranquillity of *Europe*, the Measures he should take with *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, those two Powers being equally afraid of being involved in a new War,  
 or

or of seeing the whole Monarchy of *Spain* 1700.   
possessed either by his *Gallic* Majesty, or  
the Emperour.

It was therefore thought proper, to give the Emperour time to discover the Insufficiency of his Projects, before it would be expedient for the King to enter into any Negotiation with him.

After that the Death of the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*, had changed the whole System of the Negotiations, Mr. *Hoop* was ordered to declare, in the Name of the King of *Great-Britain* and the *United-Provinces*, that these two Powers did not judge it expedient for the Peace of *Europe*, nor for their own Interest, to engage in a new War for that of the Emperour; and that, in fine, to establish a general Peace all over *Europe*, it was not proper to suffer all the Dominions of the Crown of *Spain* to be united, either in the House of *Austria*, or in that of *France*.

Nevertheless, these various Negotiations were not able to move the Emperour, any more than the little Strefs that was to be laid on the Negotiations of his Embassador at *Madrid*, which could give him no longer room to hope, that the Queen of *Spain* had Credit enough, to engage the *Spaniards* to give themselves up  
entirely

1700. entirely to the House of *Austria*, to the  
 { manifest hazard of being again involved  
 in a new and very dangerous War.

The King being of Opinion, that he could not safely repose an entire Confidence in the Emperour, thought himself at last obliged to conclude a Treaty, in *March* of the present Year, with *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, with regard to the Division of the *Spanish* Monarchy. As this Treaty is well known, we shall not insert the Articles of it here.

Marquiss *de Villars* was therefore ordered to address himself to the Emperour, to whom he made the following Speech, by which he endeavoured to soften, as much as lay in his Power, the ungrateful News he was going to acquaint him with.

“ S I R,

“ I N obeying the Orders with which  
 “ the King my Sovereign has been  
 “ pleased to honour me by his last Let-  
 “ ters, I shall take the Liberty to assure  
 “ YOUR IMPERIAL MAJESTY, that I  
 “ have always been strictly commanded,  
 “ to prove to you more by my Conduct  
 “ than by Expressions, the sincere Desire  
 “ he has to live for ever in the strictest  
 “ Union with your Majesty. The King,  
 “ my

“ my Master, has been well pleased to 1700.  
 “ give you Testimonies of it, as well on  
 “ Occasions of less Importance; as on  
 “ those which might facilitate a Treaty  
 “ between *Your Majesties*.

“ This Union has been always thought  
 “ essential to the Welfare of *Christendom*;  
 “ and indeed, his Majesty cannot view,  
 “ without Pain, those Events which may  
 “ disturb the Tranquillity of it.

“ YOUR MAJESTY knows that the  
 “ King, desirous of preventing so many  
 “ Calamities, agreed to the Proposals  
 “ made last Year by the King of  
 “ *Great-Britain*, and the States-General,  
 “ to prevent, in case Heaven should think  
 “ fit to remove the King of *Spain*; the  
 “ Death of this Prince, whose long ill  
 “ State of Health has filled *Europe* with  
 “ Alarms, from giving rise to new Wars.

“ The King would have been greatly  
 “ pleased to hear, that *Your Imperial*  
 “ *Majesty*, equally touched, as well with  
 “ the Advantages offered the Archduke  
 “ by this Plan, as by the fresh Troubles  
 “ to which your Dominions would be  
 “ exposed, in case you refused to sign it,  
 “ had accepted such reasonable Condi-  
 “ tions.

“ They appeared, to the King my So-  
 “ vereign, so well calculated to maintain  
 a general

1700. “ a general Tranquillity, that he has at  
 “ last taken a Resolution, to conclude,  
 “ with the King of *Great-Britain* and the  
 “ *States-General*, a Treaty conformable  
 “ to those very Propositions. The King  
 “ has commanded me to communicate  
 “ them to your Imperial Majesty; and in  
 “ case you think fit to join in them, no-  
 “ thing will now be wanting to the Mea-  
 “ sures which are taken, to preserve the  
 “ Peace of *Europe*.

“ The Overture to the *Spanish* Succes-  
 “ sion, is justly considered as the Source  
 “ of a long War; but no Blood will be  
 “ shed, in case this Quarrel is ended by  
 “ a just Partition. All Disputes will cease;  
 “ and the Nations now subject to the  
 “ King of *Spain*, will recognize new So-  
 “ vereigns, without any fatal Consequen-  
 “ ces arising from this Change, but which  
 “ it would be impossible to prevent, in  
 “ case the Succession to so many Countries  
 “ should be decided by force of Arms.

“ The King cannot believe, that the  
 “ Prudence and Piety of your Imperial  
 “ Majesty, will permit you to prefer the  
 “ uncertain Events of War, and the Evils  
 “ which are inseparable from it, to such  
 “ just Proposals; especially when you see  
 “ that, to save *Christendom* from these  
 “ Calamities, the King will desist from  
 his



“ his just and lawful Rights; and not <sup>1700.</sup>  
 “ employ for that purpose, Forces, which  
 “ he may use whenever Necessity shall re-  
 “ quire it.

“ In fine, SIR, I will take the Liberty  
 “ to represent to your Imperial Majesty,  
 “ that such Resolutions don’t admit of  
 “ great Delays; that they ought to be  
 “ speedily taken; and that it is necessary  
 “ to show, that any Attempt to oppose  
 “ them would be vain. The King ex-  
 “ pects an immediate Answer, and Com-  
 “ mands me to send back the Courier  
 “ he dispatched to me, a few Days after  
 “ I shall have had the Honour to inform  
 “ your Imperial Majesty, of the Orders  
 “ he brought.

“ Here, SIR, is a Copy of the Treaty  
 “ which I shall have the Honour to put  
 “ into the Hands of your Imperial Ma-  
 “ jesty, or to such of your Ministers as  
 “ you shall please to nominate for that  
 “ purpose.”

The Emperour seemed surprized at this  
 Speech, and said only, that no one was more  
 desirous to preserve the Tranquillity of *Eu-*  
*rope* than himself; and that he (the Mar-  
 quiss) might give the Treaty he presented  
 to Count *Kaunits*.

Marquiss

1700.

Marquiss *de Villars*, the instant he left the Emperour, carried the Treaty to the last mentioned Minister, who, at his taking it, only lifted up his Eyes to Heaven and said these Words : *One above will have a Hand in the Partition of the Monarchies of the World.*

His Majesty's Dispatches informed Marquiss *de Villars* very minutely, of whatever had been transacted in *England*, between the Earl of *Portland*, and the Emperour's Ministers ; at the *Hague*, between Mr. *Heinsius*, and the same Ministers ; and in *France*, between Marquiss *de Torcy*, and Count *Zintzendorff*. This last, upon reading the Treaty with Mr. *de Torcy*, made several Remarks on the Alterations that might be made in it, especially with regard to the *Milaneze*. Mr. *de Torcy* answered, that in case Count *Zintzendorff* should make any Proposals in the Emperour's Name, the King would have them examined with the Ministers of *Great-Britain* and the *United-Provinces*.

Among other Particulars of which his Majesty informed Marquiss *de Villars*, he told him, that the Queen of *Spain* was quite fallen out with Count *Harach*, the Emperour's Embassador at *Madrid* ; and from that Moment, this Prince had no longer room to expect, as he had always hoped,

hoped, that *Spain* would deliver it self up <sup>1700.</sup> entirely to him. And indeed, there was a powerful Faction at *Madrid*, which was inclined to bestow the Crown on one of the Sons of the Dauphin; and the most judicious advised the Emperour to agree with the King.

The greatest Difficulty of the Emperour, with regard to the Treaty of Partition, related to the *Milaneze*, which was to be given to the Duke of *Lorrain*, in exchange for the Duchies of *Lorrain* and *Bar*. And there was great Reason to hope, that the Emperour would be satisfied that *Milan* should be made over to a Nephew, who was so dear to him, and whom he had brought up.

Notwithstanding the authentick Declarations Marquiss *de Villars* was to make, viz. that his Majesty would not admit of any Alteration in the Treaty, he yet was ordered to hear the Proposals, which the Emperour's Ministers might make. In case they only offered the King some part of the *Indies*, or some Provinces in the *Low-Countries*, Marquiss *de Villars* was commanded to reject them. If nevertheless *Luxemburg* was one of these Provinces of the *Low-Countries*, and they would join the Kingdom of *Navarre* to it, the King reserved to himself the considering, whether

1700. whether this Partition suited him, leaving the *Milaneze* united to the Crown of *Spain*. Finally, if the Emperour, laying aside his Pretensions to the *Milaneze*, should require the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily* should not be separated from the *Spanish* Monarchy, Marquiss *de Villars* was ordered to hear the Proposals which should be made, to reserve those Kingdoms for the Archduke, when King of *Spain*.

Marquiss *de Villars* was ordered, to inform the King very exactly, with respect to these various Proposals of a Change, and not to mention a Word of it to Mr. *Hoop*; his Majesty being determined to communicate them directly, himself, to *Great-Britain*, and the *States-General*.

After that Marquiss *de Villars* had given the Treaty to the Emperour's Minister, he wrote to the King; and we believe it may be proper to insert here this first Dispatch, it being preparatory to an important Negotiation.

“ S I R,

“ I Have had the Honour to inform  
 “ YOUR MAJESTY, by my last Letter, that I had an Audience of the  
 “ Emperour the Evening of the 18<sup>th</sup>.  
 “ You

“ You will find in this, a faithful and  
 “ exact Relation of all I have since trans-  
 “ acted, in Obedience to your Orders. I  
 “ have studied them with all the Atten-  
 “ tion they merited. You will suffer me,  
 “ first, to admire the Motives which  
 “ have regulated your Majesty’s Conduct,  
 “ and which you have designed to in-  
 “ form me of, that sublime Genius, and  
 “ that profound Wisdom, whose Penetra-  
 “ tion distinguishes, by infallible Rules,  
 “ Truth from Appearances; and point  
 “ out the right way to such Ministers as  
 “ have the Honour to serve you; and to  
 “ such a Degree, SIR, that their first  
 “ and almost only Object ought to be,  
 “ to transmit, in the clearest manner pos-  
 “ sible, all they see and all they hear;  
 “ fully persuaded, that if their Prejudices  
 “ should make them err, your Majesty  
 “ will not mistake in your Decisions.  
 “ Thus, in the important Affair you  
 “ have been pleased to trust to me, I  
 “ shall have the Honour to give you an  
 “ Account, not only of the Emperour’s  
 “ Words and those of his Ministers, but  
 “ likewise, so far as I am able, the Air  
 “ with which they uttered them.


“ I have used the very same Expressi-  
 “ ons which your Majesty did me the  
 “ Honour to prescribe, when I spoke in  
 “ your



1700. “ Name to the Emperour. He answered  
“ in general Terms, that ’twas his Inten-  
“ tion to continue always in a perfect In-  
“ telligence with your Majesty ; that he  
“ remembred all that had been proposed  
“ and tranſacted, during the Courſe of a  
“ Year, between his Miniſters and thoſe  
“ of *Holland* ; that he thought he had  
“ ſhown his Moderation, in what had  
“ paſſed ; and that he would examine  
“ the Treaty which your Maſteſty or-  
“ dered me to communicate to him. At  
“ the Concluſion of my Harangue, the  
“ Tendency of which was to urge a Reſo-  
“ lution, the Emperour ſaid, that an Af-  
“ fair of ſo much Importance would re-  
“ quire long Deliberations ; that he ne-  
“ vertheleſs would ſee what might be  
“ ſaid to me, before my Courier ſet out ;  
“ and ordered me to give the Treaty to  
“ Count *Kaunits*.

“ I found this Miniſter in the Empe-  
“ rour’s Antichamber ; and aſked him,  
“ when I might have an Opportunity of  
“ ſpeaking to him ; after having juſt hint-  
“ ed, that I was to put into his Hands  
“ the Copy of a Treaty, with which I  
“ had acquainted the Emperour.

“ The News of it had been brought,  
“ before the Arrival of your Couriers ;  
“ and Count *Kaunits* told me, that he  
“ knew

“ knew it was signed the 25<sup>th</sup> of *March*. 1700.  
“ The *Venetian* Embassador had told me  
“ the same, and repeated the greatest Part  
“ of the Articles of the Treaty. } 

“ After having used this Diligence in  
“ speaking to Count *Kaunits*, I spoke to  
“ Count *Harach*, who appeared in pretty  
“ great Emotion, and made great Com-  
“ plaints against his Master's Allies.  
“ *These*, said he, *are your good Friends* :  
“ *but is it usual to give away the Possessions*  
“ *of others ?* He afterwards spoke to me  
“ concerning several Particulars of the  
“ Treaty, saying, *I had already observed*  
“ *to you, Sir, that Great-Britain and Hol-*  
“ *land studied nothing but their own Inte-*  
“ *rest. These Powers give us such a Por-*  
“ *tion of the Spanish Monarchy as cannot*  
“ *be maintained. What shall be done with*  
“ *Flanders ? How will it be possible to pre-*  
“ *serve the Indies without a Fleet ? The*  
“ *Archduke, then, must be always at the*  
“ *Mercy of the King, for Spain ; and depen-*  
“ *dant on Great-Britain and Holland with*  
“ *respect to the Indies.*” Sir, answered I,  
“ *If you reflect on that Portion of the Spa-*  
“ *nish Monarchy which is allotted to the*  
“ *Archduke, by the use the Spaniards make*  
“ *of it ; and we should judge in like man-*  
“ *ner of that which relates to us, you will*  
“ *confess that ours is the smallest Portion.*  
“ You

1700. “ You know, Sir, that the Kingdoms of Na-  
ples and Sicily are engaged in such a  
manner, that the King draws very little  
from them. But when a Prince, so well  
educated as the Archduke is, - and who, in  
a tender Age, is so very promising, shall  
be absolute Sovereign ; you then will find,  
Sir, that the Empire of the Indies and  
Spain, if well governed, will form a very  
powerful State. I know what is now  
actually drawn from the two Castiles ;  
and if the Misery of the actual Govern-  
ment of Spain makes, as it were, all the  
Gold of the Indies to melt in the Hands of  
the Spaniards ; there wants nothing but  
a judicious Prince to raise up a Power,  
which is oppressed more by its own Weight,  
and by the Ignorance of its Ministers,  
than by its natural Weakness. In fine,  
SIR, after he had sighed and be-  
wailed, their being abandoned by  
Allies, whom the Empire had sup-  
ported, when they were upon the Brink  
of Ruin ; Count Harach expressed his  
Sorrow, for not having treated directly  
with me. Was it not better, says he,  
as our Princes are so nearly related, and  
so just and religious, for them to agree ?  
’Twould be easy to answer you on that  
Head, replied I ; and you will give me  
“ leave

“ leave to explain to you the Conduct of his 1700.  
 “ Majesty. }  
 “ Immediately after the Conclusion of the

“ Peace of Ryfwick, the King nominated  
 “ Messieurs de Tallard, d’Harcourt, and  
 “ my self, to wait upon the Emperour, and  
 “ the Kings of Spain and Great-Britain.  
 “ I should have set out at the same time  
 “ with the two former, had not the Death  
 “ of my Father which happened at that  
 “ time, made me beseech the King to indulge  
 “ me a few Months longer. (I thought,  
 “ Sir, I might employ this Reason, tho’  
 “ ’twas not that which detained me, as  
 “ your Majesty knows,) I arrived here  
 “ two Years ago; and you know, that the  
 “ Emperour did not send a Minister to the  
 “ King, till fifteen Months after. Upon  
 “ my Arrival at Vienna, I found so great  
 “ a Coldness, and a Behaviour so very dif-  
 “ ferent from what I had met with in my  
 “ first Journey; that I could not forbear  
 “ discovering my Surprize, and making my  
 “ just Complaints to Count Kaunits. And  
 “ indeed, I was there a whole Month before  
 “ I received a single Visit. Even some of  
 “ my old Friends, who had sent to know,  
 “ what time they might conveniently come  
 “ to see me, desired to be excused. You your  
 “ self, Sir, are sensible, that those of the  
 “ greatest Distinction among you, never in-

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“ vited

1700. “vited me to their Houses, but till after  
 “they had done me the Honour to come and  
 “dine with me; and ashamed, as it were,  
 “not to pay the Honours of their Court to  
 “a Foreigner. So that, in case I received  
 “Honours afterwards, I may presume to  
 “say, this was not done, till after I had  
 “thrown my self into the way of them.  
 “The late Count Kinski, and several other  
 “Noblemen never came once to my House.  
 “A Treatment, so different from that which  
 “used to be shown to his Majesty’s Envoys,  
 “and of which ’twas my Duty to inform his  
 “Majesty, began to persuade him, that he  
 “could lay no great Stress on the Friend-  
 “ship of this Court. The Affair which  
 “happened to me at the Archduke’s, ful-  
 “ly convinced him of it. Recollect, Sir,  
 “the Dilatoriness that was used, and the  
 “Difficulties which arose, before I could ob-  
 “tain the just Satisfaction his Majesty re-  
 “quired. Nor would it have been made,  
 “had it not been for the fear of breaking a  
 “Correspondence, which exposed you to the  
 “Mercy of Great-Britain and Holland;  
 “there being no other way of treating di-  
 “rectly with his Majesty. With such a  
 “Conduct as this, could it have been sup-  
 “posed, that the Emperour had a very sin-  
 “cere Desire to unite with the King? I be-  
 “lieve I may presume to say, that the first  
 “Proposals



“ Proposals were not made, till the Imperial Court saw me just going to leave it ;  
 “ upon their refusal to make me the Satisfaction demanded by his Majesty. 1700.

Here Count Harach interrupted me, and said ; “ Sir, the Reason why no Conference was had immediately with you was, because the Emperour always considered himself as the only true and lawful Heir to the Monarchy of Spain. Secondly, before your Arrival here, the King had already agreed with Great Britain and Holland, with regard to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria.

“ No, Sir, replied I ; I believe I can assure you, that nothing had been agreed on that occasion, before my Arrival. If the King has since consented to any thing in favour of the Electoral Prince, he has still discovered the same Moderation ; and after the Death of that Prince, you ought to have appeared desirous, rather than averse, to treat with his Majesty.

“ But after all, continued Count Harach, is there nothing for us to negotiate upon, and is every Thing ended ? I replied, you find a Treaty is concluded. As to the Treaty, resumed the Count, we can never consent to it. I went on : The King has commanded me to send back my Courier in a Week at farthest. He

1700. “ earnestly wishes, that these Conditions, in  
 “ which he has shown the greatest Modera-  
 “ tion, may be agreeable to the Emperour.  
 “ With regard to myself, Sir ; I shall find  
 “ in the Interval to which I am fixed, what  
 “ you will do me the Honour to say ; and  
 “ shall give his Majesty a faithful Account  
 “ of the whole. This, Sir, is the Sub-  
 “ stance of the first Conversation I had  
 “ with Count Harach.

“ I went from him to Count Kaunits,  
 “ who appeared very reserved, silent and  
 “ surprized. As his Answers to me  
 “ were short, I did not say so much to  
 “ him, as I had done to Count Harach.  
 “ Nevertheless, after having listned to  
 “ me some time, he said ; *All this, Mes-*  
 “ *sieurs de Boufflers and Portland had nego-*  
 “ *tiated before the Peace.* I assured him  
 “ of the contrary, and he replied, *There*  
 “ *is One above, (pointing to the Skies)*  
 “ *will have a Hand in this Partition.* I  
 “ answered, *That One will declare for*  
 “ *Justice.* ’Tis however, said he, an un-  
 “ paralleled Thing, for Great-Britain and  
 “ Holland to divide the Monarchy of Spain.  
 “ And this third Power you threaten us  
 “ with, where is he ? I don’t know him,  
 “ What ! Shall the Dutch give away King-  
 “ doms ? As he inveighed very much a-  
 “ gainst the King of Great-Britain and  
 “ the

“ the United-Provinces, I said, Sir, give 1700.  
 “ me leave to plead their Apology. These  
 “ two Powers have just before carried on a  
 “ War which was very expensive to them,  
 “ and did not cost the Emperour a Far-  
 “ thing; for, in short, the Turkish War,  
 “ only, has put you to expence. You had  
 “ some Troops in Italy, and but two Regi-  
 “ ments of Hussars in the Empire, which  
 “ were not in its Pay. Great-Britain and  
 “ Holland have therefore, only, bore the whole  
 “ Burthen. Can you believe that these two  
 “ Nations will be very eager to engage in a  
 “ new War, merely for your Interest, when  
 “ the King proves by his Moderation, that  
 “ he has nothing at Heart, but the Welfare  
 “ and Tranquillity of Europe? I then put  
 “ the Treaty into his Hands, and this  
 “ was the End of our Conversation, the  
 “ most essential Part of which I have re-  
 “ lated.

“ Next Day, Count Harach invited  
 “ me to dine with him, when he drank  
 “ to the happy Union of your Majesty  
 “ and the Emperour. He is naturally  
 “ very polite, and he appeared much  
 “ more so that Day. After the Dinner  
 “ was over, he said to me; *This is the*  
 “ *Treaty Mr. Hoop has sent to the Em-*  
 “ *perour. You'll give me leave to show*  
 “ *you, that, among other Particulars,*

1700. “ two are unjustifiable, with regard to  
 “ the IV and IX Articles. How ! Oblige  
 “ the Emperour to deprive his Successors of  
 “ the lawful Reversion of their Possessions !  
 “ And, should Fate order it so unhappily,  
 “ that but one Prince of the House of Au-  
 “ stria should survive ; can the Emperour  
 “ consent to deprive him of the whole Spa-  
 “ nish Succession ? We therefore must go to  
 “ War, and hazard every Thing. Besides,  
 “ the Milaneze is a Fief of the Empire.  
 “ Since when have the King of Great-Britain  
 “ and Holland set up for Emperours ? For  
 “ ’tis the Emperour’s Right to dispose of this  
 “ Fief, as Charles V had disposed of it in  
 “ Favour of his Son.

“ If the disposal of it, said I, were the  
 “ only Difficulty ; provided the Emperour did  
 “ not give it to his Son ; or rather, should he  
 “ bestow it in Conformity to the Articles of  
 “ the Treaty, this perhaps would be no Ob-  
 “ stacle. But I am not surprized, that  
 “ Potentates who endeavour to preserve an  
 “ Equality (the sole Foundation of public  
 “ Tranquillity) will not suffer an Empe-  
 “ rour, whose Power is considerably in-  
 “ creased by his late Conquests, to join the  
 “ Indies, Spain and Flanders to his Crown.  
 “ Sir, replied Count Harach, all this is  
 “ nothing, for we cannot maintain it. We  
 “ now speak like Men of Honour ; and as  
 “ to



“ to my self, I declare I have not the Em- 1700.  
 “ perour’s Orders for it. But, take the  
 “ Portion you allow the Arch-Duke, and  
 “ leave us the rest. To this I answered ;  
 “ The only Thing I shall take upon my self;  
 “ is, to transmit what you shall say to me.  
 “ After a Treaty is concluded, you may  
 “ judge that my Powers extend no farther.  
 “ Count Harach concluded with saying,  
 “ Sir, I speak this of my own Head. This  
 “ is a faithful Account of the second  
 “ Conference.”

The rest of Marquiss *de Villars*’s Letter, related to other Points which no ways concerned the Negotiation.

In the mean time, the Emperour really desirous of uniting with the King, labour’d very industriously with his Ministers in order to find some Expedient for that purpose. So important an Affair deserved the most serious Debates; and Counts *Harach* and *Kaunits* employed all their Endeavours to convince the Marquiss, that they were far from intending to amuse him; and that he would be entirely satisfied with the Proposals they had to make him.

In his last Conversation with Count *Harach*, this Minister told him, that the Memorial of what he was to say to him



1700. was drawn up; but that Count *Kaunits* was so ill, that it would be two Days before he could be at the Reading of it with him; that he himself did not care to read it alone, because that, in so serious an Affair, he would not hazard the taking upon himself only, either the Interpretations or the Answers. Marquiss *de Villars* answered, that, since two such able Ministers were so cautious as not to act separately, he assured them before hand that he himself would take no less; that he would transmit the Memorial, and would write in their Presence, whatever he thought might be added to it.

Count *Kaunits's* Indisposition at *Laxemburg*, made Count *Harach* delay for some Days, the Reading of the Memorial. But at last, these two Ministers being come to *Vienna*, they appointed Marquiss *de Villars* a Meeting, and read two Memorials to him; one of which he might communicate to Mr. *Hoop*, but was to communicate the other to his Majesty only.

The first was filled with the Emperor's Complaints. First, that in the Life-time of his Catholic Majesty, a Treaty of Partition had been made of the *Spanish* Monarchy, in opposition to the Regard which ought to have been shown so august a King, and the venerable Heirs  
of

of so great a Monarchy. Secondly, that <sup>1700.</sup> neither equality nor decency had been observed in this Treaty, since it contained the injurious Condition following; that if the Emperour did not agree to the present Treaty in three Months, he, who was next Heir, should not have any Part of this Monarchy, when the Succession should be vacant. That moreover, 'twas but just for the Emperour to concert with the King on these Matters; but that he would not take one Step, till the Courier he had sent to *Spain* was returned; Religion, Honesty and Decency requiring, that he should first know what the King of *Spain* thought, with regard to this Partition of his Dominions.

With respect to the second Memorial, the Emperour's Ministers told Marquis *de Villars*, that it was for himself only, and must not be communicated to Mr. *Hoop*, as we before observed.

It contained first, that the Emperour was greatly surprized, that his Majesty would treat of the *Spanish* Succession with foreign Powers, tho' they had no right to any share of this Monarchy, of which the King and the Emperour were the only Heirs.

It declared, secondly, that a Union being entirely settled between those two Princes,

1700. who only were concerned in the Succession, the Emperour did not desire any thing so much, as to correspond directly with his Majesty, without the Participation of the Mediators who had merely set themselves up as such.

In fine, that the Emperour being allowed three Months to declare himself, this Time might easily be employed in treating with the King; referring to his Majesty, either to invest Marquiss *de Villars* with full Powers, or to suffer the Emperour to transmit them to Count *Zintzendorff*.

The last Memorial added, that in case the King was willing to enter into a Treaty with the Emperour, that of Partition might be left in the same State, and another be concluded, which should be kept secret, till the Time proper for putting it in Execution; that nevertheless, the Emperour should accept, in due form, the Treaty already concluded, during which, a particular Negotiation, for a new Disposition of Things, should be carried on under Hand.

Marquiss *de Villars* was writing; and as these first Conferences were not once continued, he discovered his Surprise to the Emperour's Ministers upon that Account; and told them, that as he had already

ready

ready acquainted the King with the sub-<sup>1700.</sup>ject of Count *Harach's* first Conversation with him, his Majesty would be very much astonished, should those so-much expected Memoirs contain nothing but general Proposals.

To this, the Ministers answered; *Are you impowered to treat? 'Tis not usual, nor indeed would it be to any purpose, to descend to Particulars in the Preliminaries of a Negotiation.*

*But you take no notice,* replied Marquiss de Villars, *of the Treaty. Count Harach answered, When the King allows three Months, 'tis in the view of carrying on a Treaty; otherwise, there is no occasion but to answer yes, or no, at the Expiration of the Time agreed upon. Would you, added he, desire to have more said to you? The Emperour will never admit the Article of the Succession, since, should Heaven snatch from him one of those two Princes, his Imperial Majesty would never consent to see his House dispossessed of the entire Monarchy, of Spain. He will risk every Thing rather than give up this Point, and he does not doubt but he shall find Friends. In fine, he cannot prevail with himself to give up all the Milanese, but he'l willingly resign all Pretensions to the Indies.*



1700.

*What a Proposal is this !* replied Marquifs de Villars. *The first made by Count Harach, was, to give the entire Portion of the Archduke. Your last Proposals are so opposite to the first, that I'll never take upon me to transmit them to the King ; and Count Zintzendorff may, if he pleases, acquaint him with them.*

Count Kaunits spoke : *But Sir, say something to us ; I never imagined, that the Empire of the Indies, which was offered at first, was inconsiderable, when compared to the Exchange of the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. If, besides, the King is so desirous of Lorrain, the Emperour will take upon him to satisfy the Duke of Lorrain.*

Marquifs de Villars showed on this occasion, that the King could desire to have *Lorrain*, for no other reason than merely to put an end to a Contest ; the Situation of this little State being such, that it could never occasion the least Uneasiness, and that its Income was very small either in Peace or War. Finally, that whether its Duke were in his Majesty's Interest, or otherwise, his Territories could not be dispensed from having Troops quartered in them in Winter.

As the Emperour's Ministers did not come to a positive Conclusion, Marquifs de Villars desired they would ; to which they



they answered, that in case the King was <sup>1700.</sup> willing to treat at *Vienna*, he had no more to do than to invest Marquiss *de Villars* with Powers for that purpose; but if his Majesty, on the contrary, would treat with Count *Zintzendorff*, he would transmit Powers to him, the Moment his Majesty should declare, that this was agreeable to him. Finally, that the shortest way would be to treat at *Vienna*, because our Couriers are nimbler than those of the Emperour.

The Marquiss replied that, to shorten a Negotiation, 'twas necessary both Parties should desire it: That he had waited Twenty-three Days for an Answer, a Circumstance, he was forced to declare, was no ways agreeable to him, and for this reason he desired not to be concerned in the Negotiation. First, because his Majesty would be better served by the Ministers who were near his Person, than by himself. Secondly, because as he had expected that considerable Overtures should be made him, these would be much less than he had reason to hope for. That therefore, he should be obliged to acquaint his Majesty, that 'twould be much more for his Interest, to have so serious an Affair transacted under his own Eye.

This

1700. This Answer was made with the coldest Air imaginable.

*But is not the Court of France, said the Ministers, sensible, that the Cause of God, as well as the Interest of our Masters, call upon them to unite? And what Faith can France repose in Powers, who, after having been united to the Emperour by Treaties, do nevertheless infringe them openly? Be assured that you your selves will meet with the like Treatment, whenever they have Opportunity for it. Tho' the King of Spain is in so very ill a State of Health, there is yet room to hope, that he will outlive King William; and should this happen, the King will have the Glory to restore the King of Great-Britain to his Dominions, and establish the Catholick Religion in them. We may carry on a Treaty secretly, and seem to agree to the Treaty of Partition; and, as soon as the King of Spain shall be dead, the King and the Emperour may take such Portions as may best suit them; for it cannot be denied, but 'tis in their Power to put this in Execution.*

The two Ministers added, that all Italy would oppose the Endeavours of the King to possess himself of such States in that Country, as would give him an easy Opportunity of conquering all the rest.

Marquiss de Villars made such an Answer to this as naturally suggested it self,  
viz.

viz. that *Italy* would be still more afraid <sup>1700.</sup> of the Emperour, whose real or supposed Rights, would subject the whole.

Count *Kaunits* resumed; *The Rights of Charlemain, tho' very ancient, will be better maintained by France than Ours, which doubtless are more valid and recent. And the Pope would soon be at Avignon, should one of your Princes be put in possession of Naples and Sicily.*

The Marquis answered, that the Pope, the Citizens of *Rome*, and all *Italy*, would be under less Apprehensions, (the *Milaneze* being possessed by its own particular Prince) than to see themselves surrounded by the Emperour's Power; that this was the Opinion of all the Citizens of *Rome*; and that the *Venetians* would be better pleased with seeing the Duke of *Lorraine* at *Milan*, than any other Prince.

*But when you shall be possessed of Naples and Sicily, replied the two Ministers, how will it be possible for these to preserve themselves from being entirely dependent on you, since your Fleets are powerful enough, to triumph over, or intimidate the whole Mediterranean? Here the Conference ended, and nothing was done.*

During this Negotiation, Marquis *de Villars* was ordered to keep a watchful Eye over every thing that was transacting  
with

1700. with regard to the War begun in the North. The Kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Denmark*; *Prussia*, *Poland*, and the *Czar*, made Proposals for an Alliance either with *France* or the Emperour; and promised both these Powers, to assist them, in case of the Divisions which would probably break out, upon the King of *Spain's* Death. Finally, all *Europe* was alarmed, and all things seemed to prepare a general Fire, which nothing but a sincere Union of the King with the Emperour could extinguish.

The Duke of *Savoy* was concerting Measures for his own Interest; and his Embassador, who was in very great Emotion, held frequent Conferences with the Emperour's Ministers; was often with Marquiss *de Villars*, and with the Ministers of the Maritime Powers. But one might easily perceive in all these Conferences, that his Master was determined to join with that Power who should make the largest Offers.

In the mean time, Marquiss *de Villars* received a Letter from the King, dated *June 16*. It declared expressly, that 'twas his Majesty's Opinion the Emperour did not act sincerely with him; that the Proposals of treating directly were owing to a secret Design of making the  
King



King averse to the Measures taken by him with *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, rather than to a sincere Desire of sharing the *Spanish* Monarchy with the King; that the Emperour's Design was to make an Advantage of the Resolution which he supposed was taken by the King of *Spain*, viz. to declare the Archduke his universal Heir; and that he endeavoured to draw over the Duke of *Savoy*, whose Troops he wanted, to facilitate the Execution of this Design.

The Delays made by the Imperial Ministers, who always refused to come to an Explanation, increased also the Suspicions of his Majesty; and enforced the Resolution he had made, to adhere to the Treaty of Partition.

To confess the Truth, his Majesty had never been of Opinion, that the Emperour would sincerely share the Monarchy of *Spain* with him; and as the Emperour had the same thoughts as his Majesty, each had begun to take such Measures, as were directly opposite to that apparent Design. His Imperial Majesty was persuaded, that his old Allies would engage more strenuously in his Interest; and the King thought he should gain a great Point, in dividing a League which had occasioned so long and bloody a War.

This



1700.

This had been his Majesty's View in negotiating the Peace of *Ryswick*; and the first Instructions given Marquiss *de Villars* were, that he should endeavour to persuade the various Courts of the Empire, whose Ministers were in *Vienna*, that the only thing they had to fear, was, the too great Power of the Emperour; since, after the Demise of the King of *Spain*, he might join those wide-extended Dominions to his own.

The House of *France* and *Austria* had been irreconcilable Enemies for many Ages. Tho' the War was concluded, it yet had not put an End to Suspicions; and those reciprocal Disquietudes prevented the real Union, which, nevertheless, in Marquiss *de Villars's* Opinion, was more sincerely desired by the Emperour, than the *French* imagined.

Mr. *Hoop* told the Marquiss, in Confidence, that he was very much dissatisfied with the Silence and Indifference of the Imperial Ministers; but notwithstanding these Complaints, 'twas not believed that he could suspect, they were engaged in a close Correspondence with Marquiss *de Villars*.

And indeed, the Emperour's Ministers seemed highly exasperated against *Great-Britain* and *Holland*; and Marquiss *de Villars*

lars endeavoured very assiduouſly, not to <sup>1700.</sup> give the Miniſter of thoſe Powers the leaſt Suspicion, that the Emperour might have a Deſign to unite with the King. It was of the utmoſt Conſequence in the preſent Juncture, (conſidering the Meaſures of the Treaty of Partition,) that the King's Miniſter ſhould not diſcover the leaſt Reſerve, with reſpect to Mr. *Hoop*. The latter, on the return of a Courier from *Madrid*, being very urgent with Count *Harach* to explain himſelf more clearly than the *Spaniſh* Court had yet done, this Miniſter answered coldly, and even with haughtineſs, *In three Months, the Emperour will declare his Intentions.*

In the mean time, the Court of *Vienna* endeavoured to make all the Friends poſſible in the Empire. The moſt conſiderable of theſe was the Elector of *Brandenburg*, who, being ambitious of the Title of King, promiſed, at all Events, to Succour the Emperour. The Duke of *Savoy* ſeemed alſo deſirous of joining with this Monarch.

The Embaſſador of *Savoy* at *Vienna* was hurrying about perpetually; and the Pretence for this, as he told Marquiſs *de Villars*, was, the Difficulties he met with from the Emperour's Miniſters with regard to the obtaining of ſeveral Fiefs in

1700. in favour of his Master. But tho' this Minister endeavoured very studiously to conceal all his Designs, nevertheless, Marquiss *de Villars* saw through them all.

A Courier now arrived from *Madrid* to *Vienna*, upon the Report which had been spread concerning the Treaty of Partition. The Imperial Ministers said only to Marquiss *de Villars*, that the King of *Spain* showed the utmost Resolution at his hearing of this News; that his Catholick Majesty had writ a short Letter to the Emperour, by which he informed him, that all the Great Men of his Kingdom, had discovered to him their Indignity for the Treaty which had been concluded; and that all had assured him, they were ready to sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes, to prevent the Execution of it.

The Prince of *Schwartzenberg* did not assist at these Conferences, but was in great Favour with the Empress, and consequently knew what was treating. He said to Marquiss *de Villars*; Call to mind, Sir, the subject of our first Conversation. Persons who are much more considerable than I have spoke; but I again repeat to you, that nothing will be so advantageous to our two Sovereigns as a good Understanding, and a Partition concerted by them; for certainly,  
that

that regulated by the Treaty will never take <sup>1700.</sup> place.

Mr. *de Torcy* sent *Marquiss de Villars* an exact Account of whatever had passed between him and *Count Zintzendorff*, with respect to the Orders the latter had received from the Emperour; and the whole concluded with this Assurance, that this Prince would never consent to have his Son, the Archduke, sent into *Spain*. All the Conditions which *Count Zintzendorff* offered, were less advantageous than those the Imperial Ministers had made *Marquiss de Villars*, and which they had desired should be kept very secret. Thus the most considerable part of the Negotiation was carrying on at *Vienna*.

The Court of *France* was prompted to believe, that his Catholick Majesty desired to have the Archduke near his Person. And indeed, 'twas proper enough, as that King was so ill, that this young Prince should be near at hand, in order to succeed to the Crown of *Spain*, immediately upon the King's Demise. Hence *Marquiss de Villars* watched very attentively all the Steps of the Archduke, in order to inform his Majesty of them with the utmost Diligence. He even would have dispatched a Courier immediately to *Toulon*, where he knew a great Number of Vessels



1700. Vessels were equipping, to give Advice to the Lords of the Admiralty, in case the Archduke had taken the route of *Italy*; in order that if our Admirals might have orders to intercept the Passage of that Prince to *Spain*, they might have speedy notice of that Design.

During this Interval, the War which was begun in *Livonia*, divided the Empire. Such Princes as opposed the establishing of a ninth Electorate, supported that Party which they thought was least attached to the Court of *Vienna*. On the other Side, the Emperour, dissatisfied with *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, won over all such as least favoured those Powers; and, as has been already seen, *Europe* seemed now more disposed than ever, to engage in a general War.

The Negotiation carrying on at *Vienna*, was so much the more delicate, as 'twas equally the Interest of his Majesty and the Emperour, to conceal their Designs from the maritime Powers.

The Emperour however, did not act with so much Caution, but complained very much of their Conduct; whilst their Ministers employed all the Arguments possible to persuade the Marquiss, and prove to him, that nothing could be so much for the Interest of their Sovereigns



as a strict Alliance between them. The <sup>1700.</sup> Reasons they gave were, that King *William* had lost his Credit in *England*; that he was fallen out with the Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland*; that he was in as ill a State of Health as the King of *Spain*; finally, that *Europe* was not in a Condition to oppose the lawful and proper Partition which the King and the Emperour might make. To these Reasons they added, the Troubles which were broke out in the North, in which *Sweden*, *Poland*, *Muscovy*, and the Elector of *Brandenburg* were concerned; that the Elector of *Bavaria* was devoted to the King; and that *Italy* would be forced to sign the Decisions of his Majesty and the Emperour. To be plain, the Imperialists did not omit any Reasons, whether specious or solid, which might be capable of influencing us.

On the other Side, Marquiss *de Villars* gave the Imperialists little Hopes that the King would recede from the Treaty of Partition. The Difficulties seemed to turn chiefly on the *Milaneze*, which the Emperour was absolutely determined to keep. The Article of the Succession was also such, that the Emperour would never depart from it.


Marquiss

1700.

Marquifs *de Villars* wrote to the King, that, if Count *Zintzendorff* hinted as tho' the Emperour might at last be prevailed upon to give up the *Milaneze*, he was persuaded this Embassador was impos'd upon, according to the Maxim established in the Ministry, that when one Court designs to impose upon another, they begin by first imposing on their own Embassador. In fine, Marquifs *de Villars* assured his Majesty, that he must never expect the Emperour would make a true and formal Renunciation of the *Milaneze*.

'Twas very probable, that the Chief States of *Italy* were afraid of having the King too near them. And indeed, *Loredano*, the *Venetian* Embassador in *Vienna*, and one of the ablest of the Senate, said to Marquifs *de Villars* ; Great-Britain and the United-Provinces cannot give his Majesty a stronger Mark of their Respect and Esteem, than in desiring he should not be possessed of *Flanders* ; and I believe all *Italy* is very much inclined, to wish he may not be Master of the *Milaneze*.

Mr. *Hoop* was persuaded that the *Venetians* joined with the Emperour, and that the Duke of *Savoy* was tempted to do the same. Marquifs *de Villars* was also of Opinion, from the several Steps which were taking by this Embassador, that he was carrying

carrying on a secret Treaty with the Em-<sup>1700.</sup>  
perour. 

During these Transactions, 'twas thought that the Prince of *Vaudemont*, Governour of the *Milaneze*, was devoted to *France*; and a Report was spread, that the King of *Spain* had put him under an Arrest. But this News was soon contradicted, as well as the Suspicions that were entertained against the younger Prince *de Vaudemont*, who was a Man of the greatest Honour.

In the mean time, Mr. *Hoop* received Orders from *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, to be very urgent with the Court of *Vienna*. He represented, that Time was precious; and that if the Emperour thought proper to neglect it, his Sovereigns were determined to do otherwise. But notwithstanding his being so very urgent, the Imperial Ministers answered him in a very cold, ambiguous manner; saying, that they waited for News from *Spain*, without which it would be impossible for the Emperour to declare himself; and, on the other Side, they assured Marquis *de Villars*, that their Sovereign was desirous of treating with him. In the mean time, Count *de Zintzendorff* was persuaded, that a Negotiation would be carried on in *France*, consequently that he him-  

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self

1700. self would have the Management of it ;  
 and Marquifs *de Villars* did all that lay in his Power to forward this, persuaded, that it would be suitable to his Majesty's Dignity as well as Interest, to have the Treaty carried on under his Eye.

Count *Zintzendorff* having requested, that a Change might be made in the IX<sup>th</sup> Article of the Treaty, (which related to the Succession, and specified the choice of a third Prince,) his Majesty, after having committed these Proposals for a Change, to the King of *Great-Britain*, and *Heinsius* the Grand Pensionary, wrote Word to Marquifs *de Villars*, that provided the Emperour would insist upon no other Alteration than that of the Article in Question, satisfaction should be given him in that particular ; but, that he would first be sure, no other Difficulty would be started.

His Majesty informed Marquifs *de Villars* of another great Piece of News, viz. that all the Counsellors of State, but one, in *Madrid*, had declared it their Opinion, that it would be proper to invite one of the King's Grandsons to succeed the King of *Spain* ; they looking upon this as the only Expedient, to prevent the Division of their Monarchy.

Nothing



Nothing could so much induce the Imperial Ministers to explain themselves, as this News : Nevertheless, as Marquiss *de Villars* gave the King but very little Hopes, that his Majesty would recede from the Treaty of Partition, Count *Harach* told him, that as he was silent, they must be the same ; and that 'twas fit they should seek for what might be convenient to themselves, since the King would not pursue his own Interest, which doubtless was, to have a good Understanding with their Sovereign.

The Duke *de Moles*, Ambassador from *Spain*, arrived at *Vienna* the 10<sup>th</sup> of *July*, and was immediately admitted to Audience by the Emperour. He brought with him the Order of the Golden Fleece for the younger Prince *de Vaudemont* ; and informed the Father, that he was continued three Years longer in the Government of *Milan*. 'Tis also said, that this Ambassador brought a Will, made by his Catholick Majesty, in favour of the Archduke. In fine, sometimes a Report was spread, that a League was formed between the Princes of *Italy* and the Emperour, which it greatly concerned Marquiss *de Villars* to discover. However, he had always been of Opinion, that this Rumour had no real Foundation ; and the Event plain-



1700. ly showed he was not mistaken in his  
 ~ Conjectures.

The Imperial Court took a Resolution to go and spend the Month of *August* at *Newstatt*. The Elector Palatine and the Electress went thither, and Marquiss *de Villars* followed. There the Emperour's Ministers were informed of the Resolution the Councillors of State had taken at *Madrid*, viz. of giving the entire Monarchy to one of the Dauphin's Sons; and told Marquiss *de Villars*, that this News did not give them the least Uneasiness, because that, in Case the King should refuse the Offers that were made him, he then must adhere to the Treaty of Partition, which was far less advantageous to his Majesty than those which could be concluded with the Emperour. That on the contrary, if he accepted them, the same Powers who were for the Partition, would unite more strongly than ever with the Emperour.

Marquiss *de Villars* answered; *If the King should refuse the Offers of Spain, the best Thing you can do, will be to sign the Treaty of Partition; and in case his Majesty accepts of the entire Monarchy for one of the Dauphin's Sons, we shall not have much to fear from all the Powers who were not able to annoy us, when they spirited up so*  
*many*

many States which will then be for us; and <sup>1700.</sup> which will certainly be better governed, when they shall follow the wise Counsels of a King, whose sole Aim will be to make them happy, and keep them united under the same Sovereign. Thus, Gentlemen, after a serious Examination, you will find that nothing will be more for your Advantage than to enter into the Treaty, since some Hopes are given you, that the Article against which you chiefly objected, will be changed.

The News that arrived from Spain, made it very necessary for the Court of Vienna to determine immediately; but the Will which the Duke de Moles hinted was made in favour of the Archduke, kept back the Ministers, who told Marquiss de Villars, that they waited for the return of a Courier from Spain; and that the Moment he should be arrived, they then would be able to treat with him on more certain Grounds.

Nevertheless, as they foresaw that certain Circumstances might engage them in a fresh War, they resolved to remount their Cavalry, and recruit all their Troops, which they had still kept on foot ever since the Peace concluded with the *Turks*.

At last, the long expected Courier from *Madrid* arrived. 'Twas at first thought, that the Imperial Ministers had

1700 concealed his Return during three Days.  
But Count *Harach*, to remove all Suspicion of it from Marquifs *de Villars*, showed him a Letter written by Count *Harach* his Son, Embassador at *Madrid*, the Date of which showed that there had been no secret in the Arrival of that Courier. Conferences were frequently held at the Emperour's; and 'twas now believed, that the Emperour would not sign the Treaty of Partition. The three Months allowed him to declare himself, expired the 18<sup>th</sup> of *August*, so that but a few Days were left for him to come to a final Resolution.

His Majesty expected, as he himself declared to Marquifs *de Villars*, by his Letter of the 5<sup>th</sup> of *August*, that those which should come to *Madrid* from *Vienna*, and the Assurances which the Duke *de Moles* gave of the favourable Dispositions of the King and Queen of *Spain* with regard to the Emperour, would keep that Prince from signing the Treaty of Partition, notwithstanding the repeated Intreaties of *Great-Britain* and *Holland*. In this manner, the *French* Court waited impatiently for the Resolution of that of *Vienna*, which set out the 6<sup>th</sup> of *August* for *Laxemburg*, and the 7<sup>th</sup> for *Neustatt*.

Marquifs

Marquifs *de Villars* asked Counts *Har-<sup>1700.</sup> rach* and *Kaunits*, if they did not intend to declare the Intentions of the Emperour till the 18<sup>th</sup>. These Ministers answered, that they had not yet been ordered to divulge them. Nevertheless, they explained themselves more clearly to some foreign Ministers, and made no Difficulty to declare, that the Emperour would never sign the Treaty.

Marquifs *de Villars* was told, that they paid the utmost regard to the Powers of *Italy*, relying pretty much on the Duke of *Savoy*, and entirely on that of *Modena* and the Grand-Duke. 'Twas not probable that the *Venetian* Embassador would declare himself, and the Emperour did not flatter himself, that he should prevail with the *Genoeze* to declare in his favour.

With regard to the States of the Empire, the Court of *Vienna* thought it might depend on the Elector of *Brandenburg*, on the Elector of *Saxony*, King of *Poland*, and on the House of *Hanover*, devoted to the Emperour for the Creation of a ninth Electorate, and by the Alliance of the King of the *Romans* with a Princess of that House; for we must observe, that as the ninth Electorate was for ever attacked by most of the Princes of the Empire, nothing was able to establish it on a



1700. solid Foundation, but the Protection and Authority of the Emperour.

When Counts *Harach* and *Kaunits* set out for *Neustatt*, they said to Marquiss *de Villars*, that they did not know whether the Emperour would wait till the last Day before he discovered his Intentions : But that, what Declaration soever he should make, the best Expedient for both their Sovereigns, would be, to form the strictest Union.

'Twas pretended, that the King of *Spain* had sent Orders to the Viceroys and Governours of all his Dominions in *Italy*, to receive the Troops of the Emperour, in which case, his Majesty told Marquiss *de Villars*, that he would declare to the King of *Spain*, that in case this Order was not revoked, he would cause such of his Troops, as were on the Frontiers of *Catalogna* and *Biscay*, to enter *Spain*. In the mean time, as Marquiss *de Villars* was got to *Neustatt*, Count *Harach* gave him, (the 18<sup>th</sup>) the Emperour's Answer with regard to the Proposal which had been made this Prince, of entring into the Treaty of Partition.

This Answer declared, that the Emperour seeing the King of *Spain* was not in danger, notwithstanding the Report which prevailed ; being, moreover his  
Uncle,



Uncle, and nearest Heir, he should think <sup>1700.</sup> it the greatest Breach of good Manners, if, during the Life-time of that Prince, and whilst he was still capable of having Children, he should join in a Treaty of Partition of his Dominions; that he hoped the King would not take this Resolution amiss; that nevertheless, in case the Succession should be vacant, he would gladly agree to any Expedient which might contribute to their still maintaining the good Understanding which he always desired to preserve with his Majesty; that with respect to the Nomination of a third Prince, 'twas his Opinion this was not feasible, and that the King would not desire it, since no one could pretend to dispose of the King of *Spain's* Dominions in his Life-time; nevertheless, that in case a third Person should be fixed upon before his Death, they were resolved and prepar'd to prevent his taking Possession. Such was the Emperour's Answer.

Count *Harach* added, that the Menace of bestowing the Monarchy upon one single Prince, was the most astonishing thing in the World; that the Liberty of giving away Monarchies, would be setting a dreadful Example; and that this pretended third Prince must certainly be the Duke of *Savoy*. However, Marquis *de Villars*

1700. fancied he saw very plain, that the Imperial Ministers were under no Apprehensions from the Duke; and imagined he might perceive from their easiness on this Head, that the Duke of *Savoy* held some Correspondence with the Emperour.

*Finally, says Count Harach, let us quite lay aside that Affair, and this immature Treaty, since the King of Spain enjoys his Health. Our Masters will find hereafter, that nothing can be of so much Advantage to them, as to keep in a good Intelligence.*

Count *Kaunits*, in a long Conference between him and *Marquis de Villars*, put him in mind of the several Overtures Count *Kinski* had made him, at the very time the Imperial Court knew, that *France* was desirous of entering into Measures with *Great-Britain* and *Holland*. He added, that the Earl of *Portland* had laid the first Foundation of this Negotiation; that these two Powers had deceived them, and that they were sure they would deceive us also.

*Marquis de Villars* convinced, by the Emperour's Answer, that his refusal to enter into the Partition, would oblige the Powers who had made it, to have recourse to violent Measures, represented again to the King, the general Advantage he would receive by agreeing to Count *Harach's*

*Harach's* first Proposals. He did not <sup>1700.</sup> scruple to expatiate on all the Reasons which might prompt him to this, as being the most glorious as well as most useful Thing he could do. In fine, he besought his Majesty to reflect again upon it, since the Emperour's refusal would occasion new Debates.

Several Conferences were held at *New-  
statt* with the *Spanish* Ambassador, to which the President of War was called; and 'twas easy to judge from the Dispositions of the Imperial Court, as well as from the Vivacity with which it treated the foreign Ministers, that it was preparing for War, and resolved to hazard every Thing, rather than lay aside the Claim, (which it considered as the most lawful and just,) to the Succession; and especially, as the King of *Spain* (said the Imperial Ministers) offered to support him, with all his Power, in his Pretensions.

A Courier arrived at this time from Count *Harach* at *Madrid*, whose Letters confirmed the Report which had lately prevailed, of his Catholick Majesty's Recovery. They also declared, that the King and Queen of *Spain* had brought over most of the Counsellors of State to their Opinion; they having before been

1700. desirous, as was observed above, of offering the *Spanish* Monarchy to one of the Dauphin's Sons.

These several Advices confirmed the Emperour in his Resolution, not to enter into the Treaty of Partition. He indeed, had a great Number of Troops, but the Affairs of his Treasury were in the utmost Confusion; and the Weakness of *Spain* might be compared to the ill Health of its Monarch.

There were no Resources to ballance all these Inconveniencies. The chief was, the Miracle of the House of *Austria*; this was a Proverb in the Court of *Vienna*, and a numberless Multitude of Examples were cited, concerning that powerful House, which when ready to fall, had raised itself after being lost to all Hopes. The rest was expected from Time, and the *Chapter of Accidents*, so often cited in the *Memoirs* of Cardinal *de Retz*.

The King then ordered Marquis *de Villars* to declare to the Emperour, that, if he should march Forces into *Italy*, in order to possess himself of the Dominions of the King of *Spain* in his Life-time, he should be obliged to oppose such an Attempt. Mr. *Hoop* made a like Declaration, in the Name of *Great-Britain* and the *United-Provinces*.

The



The like Orders were dispatched to <sup>1700.</sup> Mr. *de Blecour* at *Madrid*; and he was commanded to tell the King of *Spain*, that if he suffered the Emperour's Troops to enter his Dominions; his Majesty, as well as the maritime Powers, would oppose them; and that, to preserve the Tranquillity of *Europe*, 'twas necessary the Emperour should engage himself, not to march his Troops in any manner which might interrupt it.

To say the Truth, there was no real Foundation for the Design which was imputed to the Emperour, of marching Troops into *Italy*. 'Tis very certain, that in several Conferences at which the Embassador of *Spain* and the President of War assisted, a Debate had been carried on, what Measures might be taken, in case *France* should march Troops towards *Italy*; and if this were to happen, the Emperour designed to march a Body thither, by the way of *Tirol* and the *Grisons*. But there was no likelihood, that the Court of *Vienna* would make any great Motion that way.

All the Letters from *Madrid* brought Word, that his Catholick Majesty grew better; and Cardinal *Portocarrero* had prevailed upon most of the *Grandeess*, Ministers and Counsellors of State, not to suffer



1700. fer a Division of the Monarchy of *Spain*.  
 Every one of them in particular, offered to give up the Income of his Employment, and to tax his whole Estate, in order to complete so glorious as well as advantageous a Design.

'Twas even pretended, that the King of *Spain* hired Troops of several Princes of the Empire, to reinforce the Garrisons of the *Milaneze*; and that the Elector of *Brandenburg* offered eight thousand of his own Soldiers. However, all this seemed done merely out of Precaution by the King of *Spain*, and the Emperour did not seem to have any concern in it.

The Answer of his Catholick Majesty to the Memorial of Mr. *de Blecour*, to prevent this Prince from sending Troops into *Italy*, was, that he did not design those of the Emperour should march thither; but that he did not believe, when his own wanted to be recruited, that any Power could disapprove it, since he did not concern himself with the Forces of other Kings.

In the mean time, Marquiss *de Villars* obeyed the Orders he had received, and took Audience of the Emperour, to declare to him, that the King was equally desirous of the Continuation of the general Tranquillity, and of preserving a perfect Intelligence

Intelligence with his Imperial Majesty ; 1700. but that in case he should march Forces into *Italy*, as was reported, that Union would soon be dissolved.

The Emperour answered, that he had always wished for Peace, and to keep up a good Understanding with the King ; that the Reports which were spread with regard to the March of his Troops was without Foundation ; and that he was persuaded, his Majesty would not make any Attempt, on the Dominions of his Catholick Majesty.

'Tis certain, that the Emperour was desirous of not disturbing the present Tranquillity. As he hoped that the King of *Spain* would live some Years longer than had been imagined, he flattered himself, that the continuance of this Prince's Life, would give him a more favourable Opportunity, of breaking the several Measures which the maritime Powers had taken, merely for their own Interest, and in opposition to his. And indeed, 'twas their Interest that *Spain* should be very weak, and governed by a Prince who should be obliged to depend on them ; upon the just Supposition that a Son of the Emperour would be more inclined to unite with *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, than with the King of *France*.

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The Spirit of Tranquillity which was established by the Promises the King and the Emperour had reciprocally made, not to intercept it by any march of Troops during the Life of the King of *Spain*, did not prevent the Emperour from desiring an Explanation, with regard to the Prince on whom they intended to bestow the Portion of the *Spanish* Monarchy, in case the Emperour, to whom it had been offered, should not enter into the Treaty of Partition.

Count *Zintzendorff* was ordered to be very urgent with the King on this occasion; and the Answer was, that neither the Choice nor the Declaration depended on the King of *Prussia* or the maritime Powers; and that the contracting Parties had agreed to name him, the Instant this should be desired, either by *France*, or *Great-Britain*, in case the Emperour should refuse to enter into the Treaty. Marquiss *de Villars* was ordered to make the same Answer to the Ministers of the Court of *Vienna*, when they should speak to him on this subject.

The King communicated to Marquiss *de Villars*, a Letter written by Mr. *de Ble-cour*, from *Madrid* the 24<sup>th</sup> of *September*, which gave notice that the King of *Spain* was at the Point of Death. A second Letter

Letter from the *Sieur de Blecour*, dated 1700. the 28<sup>th</sup>, declaring that this Prince had received the Viaticum, a Report began to prevail that he was dead.

In the mean time, a Courier from Count *Harach*, who left *Madrid* the first of *October*, brought Word, that the King of *Spain* was a little better; but that there was little hopes he would live much longer.

Marquiss *de Villars* received a Courier from the King, with Dispatches (dated the 6<sup>th</sup> of *October*) by which he was ordered to be more urgent than ever with the Emperour, to declare himself with respect to the Treaty of Partition; the King of *Spain* being so very ill, that 'twas firmly believed he could live but a very few Days longer.

'Twas publickly known in *Madrid*, that most of the *Grandeess* of *Spain*, strongly averse to the dividing the Monarchy of *Spain*, and not having Room to hope that they should preserve it entire, except by inviting a Grandson of *France* to reign over them, had resolved to declare unanimously in his favour. His Majesty's Forces were lodged on the Frontiers of *Spain*, and in such a manner, as to assist, without incurring any Danger, whatever

1700. whatever Party should declare for one of  
our Princes.

The States of the Empire were very much divided, and many of its Princes were in the Interest of his Majesty. In a Word, it seemed of dangerous Consequence to the Emperour, not to enter into the Treaty of Partition, which, in case of his refusal, nominated a third Prince to inherit the Dominions designed for the Archduke.

Marquiss *de Villars* therefore desired and was admitted to Audience by the Emperour, on which occasion he was urgent with this Prince to explain himself, by setting before him the several Reasons mentioned above. The only Answer his Imperial Majesty made, was, that his Ministers would acquaint Marquiss *de Villars* with his Intentions.

Two Couriers who arrived from *Madrid*, gave some hopes that the King of *Spain* would live a little longer, to retard the Answers that were demanded, or to render them less favourable, to the Intreaties of the Powers united. These required first, that the Emperour should enter into the Treaty, or at least should promise, not to march any Troops either into the Dominions of *Spain* or into *Italy*: Secondly, that he should not possess himself



self, upon any Pretence, nor in any man-<sup>1700.</sup>  
ner whatsoever, of any part of the Mo-  
narchy of *Spain*.

The Emperour consented, not to send any Troops, except the Recruits which were wanting in the *German* Regiments, in the King of *Spain's* Service. But at the same time he reserved to himself all the Rights to this Monarchy, and declared that he would not enter, in any manner, into the Treaty of Partition. That besides, he could not but be displeased with the third Prince with which he was threatned; and, in fine, that he might also complain very justly, of the several Methods which had been employed to draw all the Powers of *Europe* into this Treaty. This Answer however did not explain clearly enough, that the Emperour, during the King of *Spain's* Life, would not possess himself of any Part of the Dominions of that Prince. And indeed, Marquiss *de Villars* represented this to Counts *Harach* and *Kaunits*, who answered him, that this Article was included in the Promise, of not marching any Troops into *Italy*.

Marquiss *de Villars* replied, that Troops might march, and yet not possess themselves of any Place; that the King of *Spain's* Viceroys or Governours might,  
according

1700. according to the Orders they receive from  
their Master, recognize either the Empe-  
rour or the Archduke for their Sovereign.  
However, these Answers did not produce  
any Alteration in the Answer, which ac-  
cordingly was sent away without the least  
Modification.


Two Couriers arrived at *Vienna*, the  
first of whom brought Advice of the  
Pope's being at the point of Death, and  
the other of his Demise, in the Night of  
the 27<sup>th</sup> or 28<sup>th</sup> of *September*. The Court  
of *Vienna* flattered it self, that the Pontiff  
who should be elected in his room, would  
be favourable to his Interest; and that  
the Fear all the *Italians* in general would  
be under, of falling into the Hands of  
the King of *France*, would raise up  
Friends and Allies to the House of *Au-*  
*stria*.

A second Courier sent from his Ma-  
jesty, brought Advice to Marquiss *de Vil-*  
*lars*, that one had passed thro' *Paris*,  
(sent from *Madrid*) with Advice to the  
Electer Palatine of the King of *Spain's*  
Death, on the 2<sup>d</sup> of *October*. The King  
told Marquiss *de Villars*, that tho' he had  
not received any Advice from his Mini-  
ster at *Madrid*, he yet could not doubt  
the Truth of that News. He therefore  
ordered him to desire an Audience of the  
Emperour,

Emperour, and to tell this Monarch once <sup>1700.</sup> for all, that, if he were desirous of avoiding a War, he must sign the Treaty of Partition; that he was going to send Marquiss *d' Harcourt* to *Bayonne*, to command all the *French* Forces dispersed along the Frontiers of *Spain*; that the choice of a third Prince, to whom the united Powers allotted the Part of the *Spanish* Monarchy which related to the Archduke, should be made immediately; and that the Court of *Vienna* had now no time to lose, but must immediately declare it self.

These two Couriers were followed by a third, who contradicted the News of the King of *Spain's* Death; for which reason Marquiss *de Villars* delayed the Audience he had been ordered to demand.

In the mean time the Court of *Vienna* was very industrious in making it self Friends. The Duke of *Hanover* was already engaged to the Emperour, for his having promoted him to the Dignity of Elector; and the Elector of *Brandenburg* was no less attached to him, from the Hopes he entertained of being raised to the Kingly Dignity, which the Emperour was desirous of keeping secret. However, this was no longer doubted, when 'twas known that the Elector had caused a Crown, and the several regal Ornaments

1700.  ments to be made. Nor was even his Treaty with the Emperour a secret, notwithstanding all the Endeavours which had been used to keep it so; and 'twas known, that one of the first Articles was, to keep eight thousand Men in Pay, in case a War should break out for the Succession of *Spain*; to give up the long-standing Debt which the House of *Austria* owes to those of *Brandenburg*, and the Loan of some Millions of Florins; all this was concealed with the utmost Secrecy.

In the mean time the Emperour did not cause his Troops to advance near *Tirol*. He was very sensible that those of *France* would arrive first in the *Milaneze*, as they were lodged on the Frontiers of *Piedmont*; and that they might get the start of his, as they were so slow in recruiting.

This Prince had an infallible Method of paying off all the Arrears he owed his Troops. There was not a single Regiment to which he was not indebted in considerable Sums; and as most of the Emperour's Officers were afraid of being cashiered, they agreed to give up their Arrears, upon Condition they might be sure of still keeping their Commissions. The Emperour was resolved to keep up  
all



all his Forces, whence a sure Profit would <sup>1700.</sup> have accrued; nevertheless, the Irresolution usual to Courts, and the Avarice of those who were to pay off the Arrears, prevented the Emperour from saving any thing on this occasion, he paying them all; and yet, the Regiments did not receive a third part of the Money, and the other two Thirds were pocketted by Persons, who, by Assignments, procured the Arrears to be made payable to themselves, upon their advancing the Money for the Soldiers; an Artifice but too common in Courts.

Advices relating to *Madrid* came from every quarter to *Vienna*, and all so strongly confirmed the daily expected News of the King of *Spain's* Death, that the Imperial Ministers could not wonder that Marquifs should be so very urgent with them to declare themselves. The Nomination of a third Prince still exasperated them; and notwithstanding the Danger they ran, in delaying coming to a Resolution, they could not possibly forgive such a Menace. They met several times, at the earnest Request of Marquifs *de Villars*. The Persons who were ordered to examine an Affair of so much Importance, were Counts *Harach*, *Kaunits* and *Mansfeld*; Count *Walstein* Lord High-Chamberlain, and the



1700. the Court-Chancellor. But the two former had the greatest Share in the Emperour's Confidence, and had even treated with the Marquiss on certain Points of which the rest had not been informed.

Count *Kaunits* said to Marquiss *de Villars*: *Such Proposals will be made you, as you certainly ought never to refuse: But in case you depend on Great-Britain and Holland, we don't know what to say to you.* He then assured Marquiss *de Villars*, that he should soon have an Answer; and indeed he would have received it, had not a Courier arrived who set out from *Madrid* the 3<sup>d</sup> of *October*, and whose Letters brought some Hopes, that his Catholick Majesty might recover.

Now we are upon the Dilatoriness of the Court of *Vienna*, it may not be improper to say a Word or two concerning the order of the Debates, and the Councils which were held there.

The five Ministers who were appointed to examine every Thing relating to the Succession, and the Treaty, assembled at the House of the oldest of those Ministers, with a Referendary or Secretary who wrote down their various Opinions, copied them fair, and afterwards gave an Extract of them to Count *Harach*. The latter reported the whole to the Emperour, and received

received his decisive Order ; except his Imperial Majesty might command, that this Affair which had been directed by the five Ministers, should be debated also in his Presence, by the several Ministers of the Conference. Thus, besides their natural Slowness, the peculiarity of their Manner of treating occasioned fresh Delays.

Scarce a Day passed but several Couriers arrived at Court, either directly from *Madrid*, or by the way of *Barcelona*, and *Genoa* ; some of whom confirmed the probability of his Catholick Majesty's approaching Exit ; whilst others seemed to hope he might live a little longer.

On these contradictory Advices, Count *Harach*, who had promised Marquiss *de Villars* a positive Answer, the 25<sup>th</sup> of October, told him, he could not give it him yet, nor even fix the Day when it would be given.

There was a Conference the same Day, the 25<sup>th</sup>, at which the King of the *Romans*, with the Chiefs of the Councils, assisted, tho' they generally were not invited to such as related to the present Affair. It lasted upwards of five Hours, and was composed of Cardinal *Collonits*, the Prince of *Salm*, of the Counts *Harach*, *Walstein*, and *Mansfeld*;

1700. of the Chancellours of *Bohemia* and *Austria*; of the President of War; of the Counts *Kierker* and *Kaunits*; of the Vice-president of the Chamber, and of all the Referendaries of the Councils. This Conference was a kind of Supreme Council, in which there probably was required the Consent of all the States, in order to fix upon a final Resolution.

This Conference, held at the Emperor's, was followed by another the same Day, at Count *Harach*'s. It was composed of the same Ministers, and lasted till Midnight. The Day after, the President of War, and the Chancellour of the Court, met at Count *Kaunits*. They sat there upwards of five Hours with a Secretary only, and, as was supposed, in their View of regulating the several Marches of the Troops. 'Twas even thought, that a Resolution was taken to bring forward a considerable Body towards *Tirol* and the Frontiers of *Friuli*.

'Tis certain that the Court of *Vienna*, surpris'd at first by the News which was brought of the King of *Spain*'s Death, and which proved false, did not know how to determine. Their Abhorrence of the Treaty of Partition, would perhaps have yielded to the Necessity of their submitting to it; but the News proving false, they

they began to flatter themselves with the <sup>1700.</sup> Hopes of some more favourable Juncture hereafter. The Birth of an Archduke revived their Courage, and they no longer doubted of what was called the Miracle of the House of *Austria*; that is, of meeting again with unforeseen Resources, in the various Dangers to which it was exposed.

Count *Kaunits* said, on this Head, to Marquiss *de Villars*, who was still very urgent with him to answer; *Why will you disturb, by ungrateful Intreaties, the Joy which the Birth of an Archduke gives us?* Marquiss *de Villars* answered; 'Tis in Order to render your Joy lasting, that I should be glad you would come to a wise Resolution, in order to ease yourselves of all Anxiety for the future.

The Discourses of Counts *Harach* and *Kaunits* still shewed, that they would soon come to a Resolution, in case the King would pursue his true Interest, which was, not to unite in any Manner with *Great-Britain* and the United Provinces; that he ought not to be surprized at their scrupling to give a decisive Answer, with regard to the Proposal, of signing the Treaty of Partition; that the very first Overtures which were made them of it, fill'd them with Horror; and that they

S 2

could




1070. could not remove it, during the three Months which had been allowed them to deliberate: Such, at last, was Count *Harach's* Answer, as tis here told, as well as that which related to the Princes who opposed the ninth Electorate. 'Twas his Majesty's Interest to support them, so long as he should be in doubt whether there would be Peace or War; and this Doubt could not cease, but by his treating directly with the King. This the Emperour was very desirous of; he being absolutely resolved not to consent to the Treaty of Partition, to which he refused, a second time his Assent: first, when Marquiss *de Villars* gave the first Advice of this Treaty; and secondly, at the Expiration of the three Months which had been allowed.

*The ANSWER made by the Emperour, the 5<sup>th</sup> of November 1700, to the last Instance made with regard to the extreme indisposition of his Catholick Majesty.*

“ HIS Imperial Majesty has com-  
 “ manded us to inform you, that  
 “ he has already declared once, That he  
 “ thought it indecent and unjust to treat,  
 “ or agree upon, the Succession or Par-  
 “ titution of the *Spanish* Monarchy, during  
 “ the



“ the Life of his Catholic Majesty. And, <sup>170</sup>  
 “ after the Proteſtations made by our   
 “ moſt auguſt Sovereign in every part  
 “ of *Europe*, he is confirmed in his Opi-  
 “ nion, from the Hopes he ſtill entertains,  
 “ that God, after having ſo deeply af-  
 “ flicted the abovementioned Prince with  
 “ Sickneſs, will reſtore him to perfect  
 “ Health.

“ His Imperial Maſteſty repeats the  
 “ Aſſurances he has already given, that  
 “ he ſtill continues in the ſame Senti-  
 “ ments, and has the ſame Deſire to live  
 “ in uninterrupted Peace, and preſerve a  
 “ ſincere Friendſhip with his moſt Chri-  
 “ ſtian Maſteſty ; as alſo to obſerve religi-  
 “ ouſly, during the Life-time of the King  
 “ of *Spain*, (provided *France* will do the  
 “ ſame Thing) the Declarations lately  
 “ made.

*The ANSWER made by the Emperour, con-  
 cerning theſe Particulars which relate to  
 the correſpondent Princes.*

“ **H**IS Imperial Maſteſty has ordered  
 “ me to acquaint Marquiſs *de Vil-*  
 “ *lars*, that when he firſt intended to cre-  
 “ ate a nine Electorate, he communicated  
 “ his Deſign to the College of Electors ;  
 “ that when the Princes firſt made their



1700. “ Complaints, ’twas declared to them,  
“ (and the same Declaration was repeated  
“ when the Deputies of *Nuremberg*, were  
“ at *Vienna*) viz. That the Elector  
“ should not be introduced, till the  
“ Princes had been conferred with; and  
“ a Commission, to this Purpose, was  
“ given the Elector of *Mentz*. At the  
“ same Time, an Offer was made, that  
“ in case the Expedients proposed by the  
“ said Elector of *Mentz* were not satisfac-  
“ tory to them, those Princes had no  
“ more to do, but to propose such Ex-  
“ pedients as should be practicable; and  
“ that the Emperour would do all in his  
“ Power to forward them. For this Rea-  
“ son, his Imperial Majesty does not think  
“ they have any reason to have Recourse  
“ to foreign Guarantees; especially as  
“ not a Word is mentioned, either in the  
“ Treaties of *Westphalia*, or in the golden  
“ Bull, any more than in the following  
“ Treaties which forbid the creation of  
“ of any new Electorate.

“ Farther, the Emperour is of Opini-  
“ on, that the Explanation of this Instru-  
“ ment of Peace, does not belong to  
“ this Number of Princes only, but that  
“ it should relate to the other Princes,  
“ and to the Empire in general; so that,  
“ the Emperour hopes, his most Christi-  
“ an

“ an Majesty will request those Princes, 1070.  
 “ not to disturb the Tranquillity of the  
 “ Empire, since the King will doubtless  
 “ be persuaded, that no Person can, or  
 “ ought to have greater Regard to their  
 “ Rights than the Emperour himself,  
 “ since 'tis his Interest to preserve the  
 “ Empire peaceably and undisturbed;  
 “ and that 'tis his Opinion, his Maje-  
 “ sty will never make this an Oppor-  
 “ tunity, to interrupt the Tranquillity of  
 “ it.”


In the mean time, Marquiss *de Villars*  
 desired to return to *France* for a few Days,  
 to look after his private Affairs: He even  
 acquainted Marquiss *de Torcy* by Letter,  
 that he would send him a Copy of the  
 Route he should take, Post by Post, in  
 order that if the King of *Spain* should  
 die whilst he was upon the Road, they  
 might know where to find him; and that  
 he might return to *Vienna*, from the very  
 Gates of *Paris*, without entring it, in  
 case the Affairs of his Majesty should re-  
 quire it.

Counts *Harach* and *Kaunits*, hearing of  
 Marquiss *de Villars*'s Intention to leave  
*Vienna*, said to him; *In case you return*  
*to France, and his Catholic Majesty should*  
*die in the mean time, return hither.* Some-

1070. *times the greatest Affairs are Transacted in a few Moments.* But Marquifs de Villars had sufficiently known, and so well explained the Intentions of his Imperial Majesty, that the King was certain the Emperour desired sincerely to treat directly with his Majesty.

He nevertheless still resolved to stand by the Treaty of Partition, and Marquifs de Villars was ordered, by a Letter from the King, dated the 7<sup>th</sup> of *November*, to declare to the Emperour, that his Troops extended along the Frontiers of *Spain*; that they were quartered in *Dauphiné*, in order that they might be ready to assist his Projects, and the Prince whom the contracting Powers should nominate in the Room of the Archduke, in case the Emperour should still refuse to sign the Treaty of Partition.

In the midst of these Conjectures, the Emperour's Council was prodigiously divided; and Count de *Ferguer*, a worthy, sincere Gentleman, at his coming from a very long Conference, in which the present Affair had been debated, spoke as follows to Marquifs de Villars; *When People come and tell me that the King of Spain is in good Health, and that they even fancy he may still have Children; I laugh in their Faces, and answer, That I, indeed, have a strong*


*strong belief of past Miracles, but that as to present ones, I am less disposed to believe them; That I myself look upon the King of Spain as dead; and that we ought to act, as tho' we expected to receive the News of it to-morrow.* 1700.   
Marquiss de Villars asked, In case this should happen, what was Count de Fergurs Opinion on this Head? He answered; I will not tell you the Sentiments of others, nor the Designs of the Sovereign; but with respect to my own, I shall not conceal them from you. I don't mention the Emperour's Rights nor those of your Master; we are not to dispute upon that. But those of your great King, the greatest that ever was, are supported by his good Conduct and his wise Foresight. They are really the strongest, because he enforces them by the Power of his Arms and his Alliances. But in fine, the Emperour has some Rights which we ought to consider as most valid; and you would not have that Prince have nothing, when you join such important Kingdoms to your Crown. You offer us a Partition for the Archduke; and with regard to this Partition, as it now stands, I told the Emperour, that the Archduke would be happier in being Duke of Carniola, than a titular King without the Power. This therefore is my Opinion, that we ought to prepare for War, and seize upon all we can of the Succession.

Here




1700. Here Marquiss *de Villars* asked him, what he thought the Emperour would gain by the War, since he himself owned 'twas impossible to resist a Monarch, who joined to the vast Number of Forces in his own Dominions, those of his Allies. To this Count *de Ferguer* replied: *You have play'd your Cards very well, however, we have still some Resource left. I have proved to the Emperour, that he may maintain an hundred thousand Troops, exclusive of those he may raise in Hungary, at a very low Price. We certainly shall not begin the War on so sure Grounds as you; but when once the War is begun, the Event of it is uncertain. In a Word, the Resolution in which I am fixed, is glorious, and Resources will be found in case it be followed; whereas, if we agree to the Treaty, the Emperour will certainly ruin both his Honour and Fortune. In fine, I am for War.*

Count *Mansfield* was of the same Opinion, and Count *Kaunits* almost joined in it. As for Count *Walsstein*, he relied in the Miracle which should be wrought in favour of the House of *Austria*: The President of War was not able to debate, he being in so ill a State of Health, that he could scarce undergo the Fatigue of being carried to the Council: The rest of the Ministers were not so much for War, and the

the diversity of Opinions was so great, that <sup>1700.</sup> they did not come to any fix'd Resolution. 

The Princes of *Savoy*, of *Commerci*, and *Vaudemont*, the first of whom ought to have had a Seat in the Council, saw, with Pleasure, that War seemed now unavoidable, and seemed very much surpris'd, that no greater Preparations were made for it. Upon the whole, Marquiss *de Villars* was of Opinion, (and wrote Word to his Majesty) that it would not be proper to press the Court of *Vienna* any farther, but that they must wait for the critical Minute; that then the Imperialists would be forced to come to a Resolution; and that as for himself, he was convinced this would be the most favourable Minute; for concluding immediately with them, to his Majesty's Advantage.

At a Conjunction when his Imperial Majesty was in so much want of good Servants, the Prince of *Baden's* Enemies did all that lay in their Power to ruin him; so true it is, that Court Factions, wholly regardless of the Interest of the Sovereign, always get the better of worthy Men. No one has experienced this so much, as Marquiss *de Villars*, as we shall shew in the Course of these Memoirs; for after the Marquiss in the last War, had four or five times rescued his Country out of the  
greatest

1700.  greatest Dangers ; immediately after the Army under his Command was weakned, and the most important Employments were bestowed on other Officers.

The Prince of *Salm* was strongly in the Interest of the Prince of *Baden*, and even Count *Kaunits* used to tell the latter, that he ought to lay aside a certain Haughtiness, which deprived his Friends of all Opportunities to serve him ; and gave such Ministers as were bent upon his Ruin, frequent Opportunities to vent their Malice.

In the mean time, the Imperial Court began to think more seriously of the Methods to raise Funds, and by a Levy of the hundredth Penny, granted throughout all the Emperour's Dominions, and by the Sums which the Elector Palatine advanced, the Imperialists found that they might depend on seven Millions of Florins, that is, fourteen Millions of *French* Money.

Whilst the Courtiers murmured at the Indolence of the Emperour and his Ministers, in so important a Conjunction, an Opera happened to be played, the Author of which was pretty severe in his Censure of this Supiness. The *Dramatis Personæ* on this Occasion were, Virtue, Honour, Vivacity, Disquietude, Vice, Indolence, and Confidence. At the Conclusion

clusion of the Piece, Virtue, being forsaken by Vivacity and Solitude, and accompanied by Confidence and Indolence, are bound in Chains; on which Occasion, Vivacity and Disquietude spake in very strong Terms against the Ministers, part of which the Emperour might apply to himself. As the King had formerly done Marquiss *de Villars* the Honour, to speak in tender Terms about the Uneasiness of his Temper; the latter was not displeased to see in this little Opera, how necessary Disquietude is to Virtue. He took the Liberty to mention this dramatic Piece, in his Letters, to his Majesty; and was so free as to represent to him, that a certain Disquietude ought not to be considered as a Fault; adding, that were his Majesty to hear the *German* Officers discourse on the Dangers they had run in the last Wars, he would find that the Disquietude of a Lieutenant-General, who is desirous of having an Advantage taken of certain Opportunities, ought not so much to be condemned as presumptuous, as applauded for the Worth of its Zeal, founded on solid, but respectful Arguments with regard to the General.

The 18<sup>th</sup> of *November*, Marquiss *de Villars* received a Letter from the King, which informed him of the King of *Spain's* Death.

1700. Death. The like Advice was brought to the Emperour, by a Courier dispatched from Count *Zindendorff*; and another who came two Days before, had prepared the Imperial Court for it. The Emperour did not admit any one to his Presence for two Days, but wrote a Word or two to the President of War, who immediately assembled the Velt-Marshals then at Court, viz. *Caprara*, Prince *Eugene* and Prince *Commerci*.

The 19<sup>th</sup> a Council was held, above four Hours, at the Emperour's Palace. The Prince *de Litchtenstein*, *Hayo* to the Archduke, was admitted into it, whence it was probably judged, that the latter Prince was to take a Journey to some Place.

The Day after, Monies were given out for remounting and recruiting all the Forces. The Emperour gave forty two Livres for every Trooper or Foot-Soldier, and an hundred and thirty Livres for each Horse; but no Order was yet sent for the Forces to march.

In this last Council, the Emperour delivered himself with such a Spirit and Fire, as was not usually seen in him; charging even his Ministers with an Irresolution, of which however, (if they might be credited) he himself was more guilty than those he blamed.


They



They spent these three Days, and the 1700. greatest Part of the Night, in Conference. Marquiss *de Villars* said to Count *Harach* and *Kaunits*: *The fatal Moment is come; will you then prevent the Evils which threaten the Empire?* Count *Harach* made only the Answer following: *We shall speak to you; but 'tis not yet a proper Time for it.*

The Day after, News was brought that his Catholic Majesty had made a Will in favour of the Duke of *Anjou*, whom he had appointed his universal Heir. Marquiss *de Villars* was informed at the same time, that the King had acquainted *Great-Britain* and the United-Provinces with his having accepted of the Donation; and was ordered to acquaint the Court of *Vienna*, that the Duke of *Anjou* had already been treated as King of *Spain*, and in consequence thereof would set out the 1<sup>st</sup> of *December*, to take Possession of his Kingdoms.

Immediately a Resolution was taken at *Vienna*, to send Thirty thousand of the best Troops into *Italy*, and Twenty thousand on the *Rhine*. And, to complete the Regiments which were to march, the Imperialists drew from those of Foot which did not march, four Companies, to put those which were drawn out to sixteen  
teen

1700  teen Companies of an Hundred and fifty Men each, and a Captain of Granadiers, which made 2540 Men on the complete Standard.

'Twas reported that the Archduke would be sent to *Inspurch*; and there even was Room to surmise that such a Resolution had been taken, because the Prince *de Lichtenstein* assisted at the last Conferences. An undoubted Circumstance is, that the Emperour, being resolved not to agree to the Treaty of Partition, had nothing more to do than to send immediately a Body of Troops into the *Milaneze*, where his Catholic Majesty would certainly have sent Orders for giving them a proper Reception. But upon the King's threatning to go immediately upon Action; and to enter *Spain* and *Italy*, the instant his Imperial Majesty should order his Troops to march, it broke a Design which many were desirous of having put in Execution.

Prince *Eugene* was declared General of the Army designed for *Italy*, and the Princes of *Commerci* and *Vaudemont*, and Count *Guido Staremborg*, were the chief General Officers who were to serve in that Army.

The 24<sup>th</sup> of *November*, Marquis *de Villars* sent to desire an Order from Count *Kaunits* for the dispatching of a Courier.

The

The Person who went to the Count's, saw <sup>1700.</sup> him at home, but he nevertheless was told, that he was gone out at a Back-door, in order to wait upon the Emperour. That Evening, Count *Kaunits* sent Word to Marquiss *de Villars*, that he should be glad to speak with him next Day at Court; and informed him, that the Emperour being determined that the Marquiss should be spoke with in his Name, he supposed that he would not be unwilling to have the Departure of his Courier suspended one Day.

Accordingly Counts *Harach* and *Kaunits* spoke to Marquiss *de Villars* in the Imperial Palace, and told him, that so many Couriers were arrived, that it had not been in their Power to devote one Hour in the Day to him; that besides, he himself might conceive, that tho' the various Advices they received, could not produce any great Change in the Particulars they had to say to him, the Emperour was nevertheless very glad to be informed of the Contents of them; that one of these Couriers was dispatched from *Madrid* to the *Spanish* Embassador at *Vienna*, and that this was the first they had received since the Death of the King of *Spain*.

Marquiss *de Villars* answered, that he had not any thing material to inform his Majesty

1700. Majesty of, but that, in three Days, four of  
their Couriers were arrived in *Vienna*, and  
that the least he could do was to dispatch  
one of them, merely to inform his Court  
that nothing had been said to him.

The 27<sup>th</sup> of *November* was past, and the  
Imperial Ministers had not yet spoke to  
Marquiss *de Villars*; and now the Report  
which began to prevail, that his Majesty  
had accepted of the *Spanish* Monarchy,  
designed for the Duke of *Anjou*, his Grand-  
son, did not give him Room to expect  
that the Emperour would make any consi-  
derable Advances.

Count *Wratislaw* was then nominated to  
go for *England*. He was the ablest Mi-  
nister in the Imperial Court, for carrying  
on great Negotiations; and the Choice  
the Emperour made of this Nobleman,  
occasioned a Belief, that the Imperialists  
designed to engage King *William* and the  
*Dutch* in Measures very different from those  
which had been taken by these two Pow-  
ers, since the Peace of *Ryswick*.


Marquiss *de Villars* received a Letter  
from the King, which informed him, that  
Prince *de Vaudemont*, Governour of the  
*Milaneze*, had already prevailed with the  
Inhabitants of it, to recognize the new  
King; that the Governours of the Low-  
Countries had done the same; and there-  
fore,

fore, that 'twas probable all the rest of the 1700. Monarchy, would pay the same Defe-  
rence to the last Will of the late King of Spain.

This News dejected the Court of *Vien-*  
*na* very much; and the Generals, who,  
ever since Advice had been brought of the  
Treaty of Partition, were of Opinion, that  
it would be proper to send an Army into  
*Italy*, declared (with a great Shew of  
Reason) that in case the Ministers of his  
late Catholic Majesty, who had deter-  
mined him to deprive the Princes of his  
House, of the entire Succession, had seen  
Part of the Monarchy in the Emperour's  
Hands, they perhaps would not have been  
pleased, to give the rest to a Prince of  
*France*; and that had there been no far-  
ther Hopes of bestowing the whole Mo-  
narchy upon one Prince, the King of *Spain*  
would never have made such a Will. Such  
were their Arguments, and they appear-  
ed very just. But Prince Eugene was ne-  
ver consulted; and the Emperour took a  
Resolution to send a Courier to the Prince  
of *Baden*, in order that he might come to  
*Vienna* with all Speed.

December the 4<sup>th</sup>, a Courier, sent from  
Cardinal *de Lambert*, brought Advice,  
that Cardinal *Albani* was raised to the Pa-  
pal Throne. The Cardinals had long sus-  
pended



1700.  pended the Election, from the great Necessity the Church was under, of seeking such Qualities in the Person who was to be at its Head, as were very different from those which generally promote to that Dignity. Cardinal *Albani* was not fifty, and he seemed in perfect Health. The Tears he shed when Advice was first brought of his being elected, denoted, either the Character of a Comedian, (for which his Countrymen are well formed by Nature) or a Weakness very different from the Courage showed by *Sixtus V.* The latter, leaning on a Staff, and stooping very low before the Scrutiny was made, surprised the whole Conclave when it declared him Pontiff. He then lifted up his Head, and sung *Te Deum* with a very audible, strong Voice. Being asked, by what Miracle he was grown so strait, he answered, that the Reason why he stooped before was, to look for St. *Peter's* Keys; but that now he had found them, he was able to walk upright.

And now Marquiss *de Villars* again desired to return home, vexed (with the greatest Reason) to see Mess. *d' Harcourt* and *Tallard* so very amply rewarded, and nothing done in his Favour. He might flatter himself that, if the King had been satisfied with the Treaty of Partition, this  
Treaty

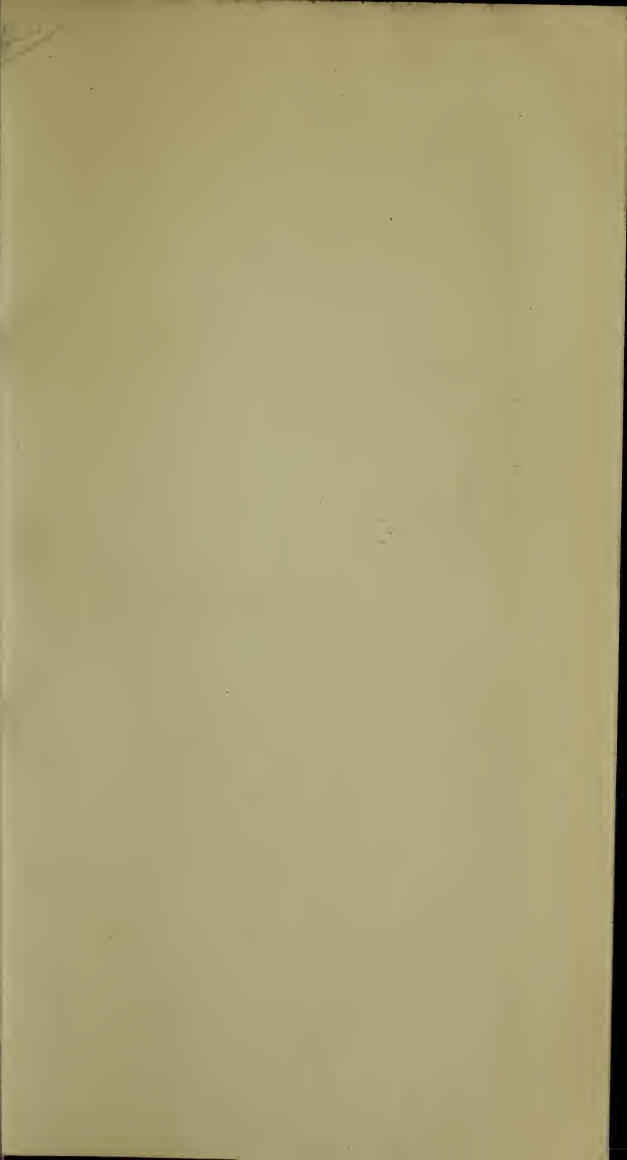
Treaty was owing to the Fears *Great-Bri-* 1700.  
*tain* and *Holland* were under, on account of  
 the pompous Offers which his Imperial  
 Majesty had made, by Marquifs *de Villars*,  
 to the King. And, with Regard to the  
 Will, which gave the whole Monarchy  
 to one of the Dauphin's Sons, his Maje-  
 sty also might conclude, that the Artifice  
 by which he had prevented the Emperour  
 from possessing himself of the *Milaneze*,  
 when the King of *Spain* would have ad-  
 mitted his Troops into it, had determined  
 the *Spanish* Ministers who were most afraid  
 of the Monarchy's being divided, to be-  
 queath the whole to one of the King's  
 Grandsons.

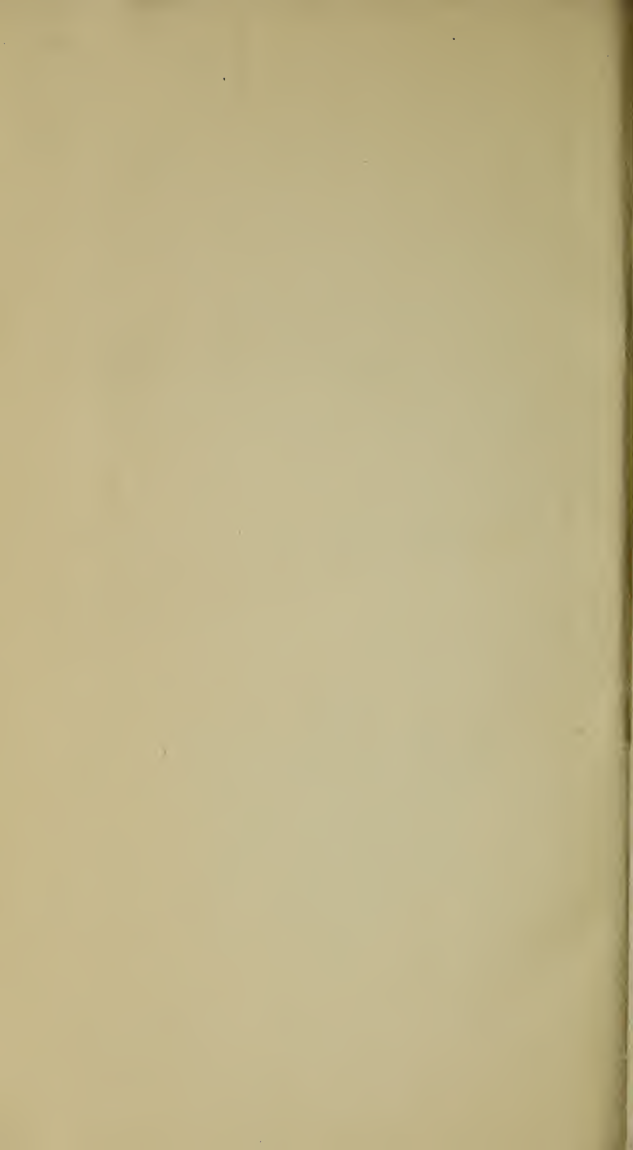
The Marquifs complained in the strong-  
 est Terms to Mr. *de Torcy*, of his being  
 forgot : But at last, the King was resolved  
 he should stay at *Vienna*, till such Time as  
 the Emperour might declare himself. His  
 Resolution depended on the Succour he  
 was to expect from the Maritime Powers,  
 and the Princes of the Empire, the most  
 powerful of whom, as the Electors of *Bran-*  
*denburg* and *Hanover*, would engage in  
 his Quarrel. The Imperial Court had  
 first resolved to march an Army into *Italy*,  
 and we have already seen that the Gene-  
 rals had been nominated for that Purpose.  
 But when the Emperour heard that the  
 Prince

1700. Prince of *Vaudemont*, Governour of the  
Mileneze, had submitted to the Regency  
of *Spain*, with the Viceroy of *Naples*,  
*Sicily*, and *Sardinia*, and that every Coun-  
try in the different Parts of *Europe*, subor-  
dinate to that Monarchy, recognized the  
Will; he resolved to prepare, in a solid  
Manner, for War. A fatal War, that  
shook the two great Houses of *France* and  
*Austria*, and which might have proved of  
the most fatal Consequence to one of them.

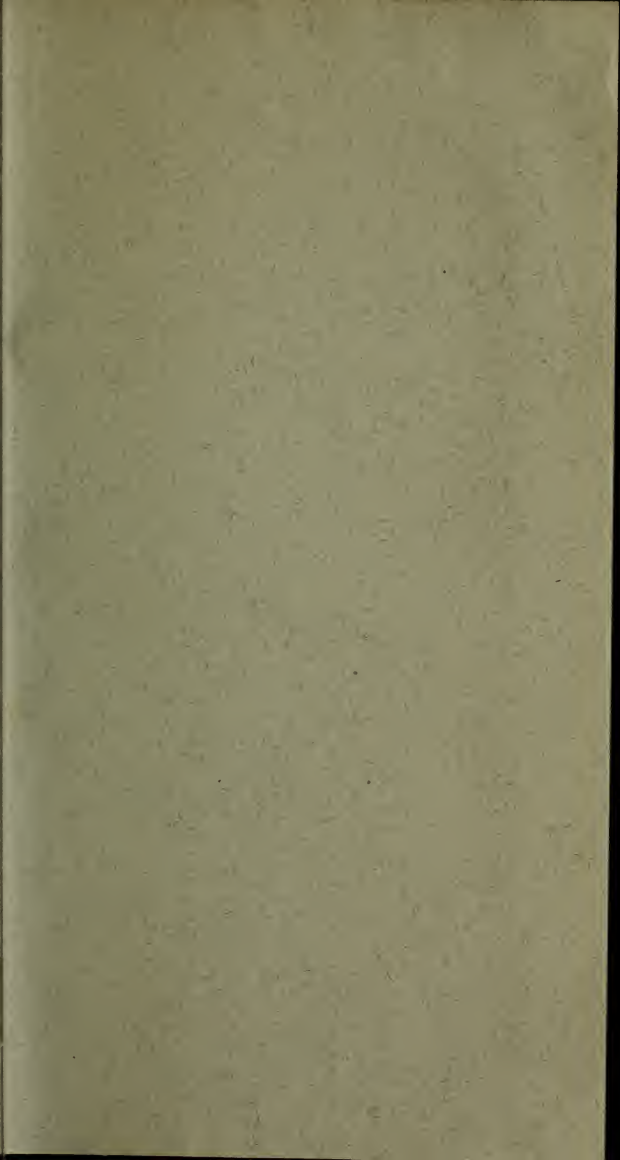
F I N I S.













P. L. Bindery  
DEC 10 1912

